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THE GROWTH AND CONTENTS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT

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BY

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FOREWORD

This introduction to the literature of the Old Testament aims to present for the general reader, as well as for the scholar, the picturesque, fascinating ancient life which produced the great Hebrew classics. It treats of the early prophetic story-tellers and their matchless stories which enrich the opening books of the Bible, of the oral prophecies of the champions of righteousness, of the Psalmists, and of the sages. Each writer, each book, and each group of writings stands clearly revealed in its true historical setting. The Old Testament becomes a living literature.

The larger part of this volume has already appeared as the introduction to the various published volumes of "The Student's Old Testament." The new matter is the introduction to the unpublished volume, "Proverbs and Didactic Poems." The proofs of this book were read by the author. He intended to write the preface for this volume, but his death prevented the realization of that hope.

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THE HISTORY OF ISRAEL'S EARLY RECORDS

I

ISRAEL'S HERITAGE OF ORAL TRADITIONS

"PROVE all things and hold fast that which is good" is the guiding principle of the present age. The Bible least of all demands exemption from this, its own canon. What it is and what its teachings have done and are capable of doing for mankind, constitute its supreme claim to authority. Tested by intrinsic merit, the stories preserved in the opening books of the Old Testament are found to possess a unique value, for they reflect not merely the experiences, but also those early ideas and ideals of the Israelites which embody God's personal revelation through them to the human race. History is simply an accurate representation of facts, while into popular traditions are projected the beliefs, the aspirations and the eternal truths held by the generations which received and treasured them. They portray, therefore, not merely the external but also the mental and spiritual life of the Israelitish people, whom God was training by varied experiences to make known his gracious purpose to the world. Historical value of popular traditions

Furthermore, their chief function in the past, as in the present, is to appeal to the minds and wills of men and thus, by inspiring noble thoughts and acts, to make history, rather than merely record it. That they will always continue to be powerful religious and ethical forces in the life of humanity needs no demonstration. Acquaintance with them in their original beauty and simplicity will increase rather than diminish their efficiency. Their influence is all the more potent because there is little moralizing. By the deeds, character, and words of the personages who figure in the narratives, their lessons are imparted clearly, effectively, and yet almost unconsciously to those who receive them. One of the reasons why they have a perennially helpful message for men to-day is because, unlike the heroes of other primitive peoples, those of the Old Testament are not men of brute strength—Samson stands almost alone—but, like Abraham, they are dominated by a consuming desire to live in harmony with the Eternal. Their struggles are not with panoplied warriors, but, as in the case of Jacob, with the baser instincts within them. Their mastering ambitions are not to achieve possessions or glory for themselves, but to secure divine favor and blessings for their race. If, like Joseph or Moses, their circumstances made them men of affairs, they won success by their faithful, unselfish devotion to every duty and opportunity which presented As religious and moral forces

itself, and success attained was simply made in turn the instrument of helpfulness to others.

As archæological sources

The Old Testament stories also contain illustrations of almost every phase of Israel's social and institutional life. Unconsciously, but faithfully, they reflect the conditions existing during the periods from which they come. Without them our knowledge of that marvellous people, who have so fundamentally moulded and vitalized modern civilization, would be very imperfect.

As literature

Viewed as literature they have a peculiar charm which is the result of the long process of simplification, attrition, and embellishment to which they have for centuries been subjected. Their appreciation as literature, instead of being a sin, "as some have ignorantly imagined," is the duty and privilege of every lover of the Bible. Like the poems of Homer or the earliest literary products of every truly great people, they are the priceless pearls of thought and diction, which the Hebrew race had long treasured in its memory and at last intrusted to the written page. Little wonder that they fascinate old and young alike by their lucidity, vividness, and dramatic interest. No other writings are more simple and yet so instructive, more concrete and yet so universal in their application. They were Israel's richest heritage from antiquity, and are among the most valuable of the many contributions which the Hebrews have made to the common literature of mankind.

The real character of traditions

Fortunately, the present age is beginning to listen to the testimony which the Bible itself gives regarding its origin and real character. At the same time the popular misconception that the word "tradition" implies that the literature thus designated is necessarily untrustworthy and unhistorical is fast disappearing. True to its derivation, the term only means "that which is transmitted or handed down orally from generation to generation." It ordinarily implies a period of oral transmission. When it is recalled that during the first quarter century following the death of Jesus, while hearers and eyewitnesses lived to recount the facts, probably not one of his acts or teachings was recorded in writing, the value and possibilities of oral tradition are strikingly revealed. The amount of historical data thus transmitted naturally depends upon the character of the material, the length of the period, and the ability of those who handed them down to retain the original facts. It is obvious, therefore, that some traditions preserve little strictly historical data, while others contain much. No sharp distinction can be drawn in this respect between traditions and historical records, for at best it is only relative. In the Old Testament the one gradually merges into the other. While the Hebrews were nomads, without a definite national organization and probably personally unacquainted with the art of writing, it would appear that they had few if any written records. Moreover, popular memory was able satisfactorily to answer all questions which might be raised regarding the past. When, however, they settled in Canaan and passed through thrilling tribal and national experiences, which made a deep impression upon

their memories, the historical element in their traditions became more prominent. The result is that the records which relate to later events, as, for example, those in the book of Judges, do not differ greatly from the sober written records of a later literary age.

The age of song and story

The establishment of the Hebrew monarchy in the days of Saul (about 1050 B.C.) and the beginning of the great struggle for national independence, which resulted in the union of all the tribes under the victorious rule of David, marks in general the transition from the age of popular song and story to that of historical narration. A comparison of the story of Eden, in which Jehovah and the serpent are represented as speaking (Gen. 2-3), with the realistic account of Absalom's rebellion (II Sam. 13-20), illustrates the fundamental differences in form and representation between the literary products of these two very different eras. The one suggests the ancient bard, the seer, and the camp-fire; the other the court annalist and the prophetic historian. In the one the concrete details are but the clothing of the primitive beliefs and ideals; while in the other the bald historical facts are simply portrayed. The latter is limited to certain dates and themes; while the narratives which come from the age of song and story know no such limits, but go back millenniums before the beginnings of Hebrew history to the origin of the universe, of sin, and of human civilization.

Origin of popular traditions

Wars, the rise and fall of dynasties and the social and institutional life of their nation, command the attention of later historians; but the themes which interested the early Hebrews and their Semitic ancestors were much more varied. Like children, they asked innumerable questions regarding everything which they saw and heard, and especially those things which personally concerned them, and, like children today, did not always stop to investigate whether the answer was based on fact or fancy. They who asked were also obliged to answer their own inquiries in the light of their imperfect knowledge. Some of these answers must be recognized in the light of fuller historical and scientific truth to have been originally but crude guesses at the riddles of existence, or else the attempt to record in picturesque outlines the history of the ages regarding which human memory has retained little definite information. It is fortunate that their permanent value depends upon something far more abiding than the amount of historical information which they may contain.

Israel's debt to the older Semitic nations

Since the Israelites were among the youngest of the Semitic nations, it was to be expected that they derived certain traditions, as well as institutions, from their ancestors and kinsmen, already thousands of years old in experience. Modern discoveries have strikingly confirmed the truth of this conclusion. Divine revelation was not entirely limited to one race or age in the past, any more than in the present. Through the Babylonian and Assyrian inscriptions it is now possible to tap the current of ancient Semitic tradition centuries before the days of Moses, and to determine approximately the earlier forms of certain of the Old

Testament stories. From the Babylonians, whose civilization had reached its zenith and was already growing old before the Hebrews entered Canaan, they may also have received directly or indirectly many of their narratives regarding the beginnings of universal history. For at least five centuries the civilizations of the Tigris-Euphrates valley had dominated Palestine, which had long been settled by Semitic peoples. Not only did they find it regnant in the land, which ultimately became their home, but their records also assert that their ancestors originally migrated from the same seat of ancient Semitic culture. That they should bear with them and later receive anew through the Canaanites the traditional inheritances from the common ancestors of their race was an inevitable result of the historical situation. Also in the older Semitic inhabitants of Palestine, whom they ultimately conquered and absorbed, but whose civilization in turn conquered them, they found teachers who not only instructed them in the arts, but also imparted to them many of their varied traditions. The origin, therefore, of certain of the familiar narratives in Genesis undoubtedly lies far back in the Semitic past. They represent not three but at least thirty centuries of human thought and divine revelation. If age and the indorsement of countless generations imparts authority, they certainly possess it in the highest degree. They are the unbroken links which bind the present to the pre-historic past, and enable us to think again the thoughts in the mind of primitive man.

Naturalization of traditions

Popular traditions, like proverbs, are often migratory and are readily adopted and adapted to the point of view of a later age. Thus assimilated, they become in a very true sense a new creation. In the Old Testament, instead of many gods or the local deities of Canaan and the desert, Jehovah, the one God of the Hebrews, appears, and with him an infinitely nobler religious atmosphere. Ancient traditions also receive a new and distinctively Israelitish setting. Thus the story of the visit of the three heavenly beings, which the Hebrews share with the Greeks (Ovid, Fast. V. 495 ff.), is localized at Hebron (Gen. 18). Egypt's immemorial agrarian policy is attributed to Joseph, § 50. Unconsciously the old stories are modified and made to reflect the later experiences of the Hebrews. Thus Abraham's adventure at the Egyptian court contains suggestions of the bondage and deliverance of the Israelites from Egypt, § 13; the Jacob-Laban stories reveal the attitude of the Hebrews toward the Aramean foes in the days following the death of Solomon. As will be shown later (p. 19, 20), it was their transformation in Hebrew minds, and at the hand of Israel's inspired teachers, that gave these ancient traditions their permanent and unique religious value.

Classification of traditions: transformed myths

A general classification of the narratives found in the opening books of the Old Testament makes evident their diverse character and relationships, and suggests their origin and history. That the early Hebrews received, along with their other inheritances from their Semitic forefathers, many popular myths, is shown by the frequent

references to them in the prophetic, and especially the poetic books, like Job and the later apocalyptic writings (*e. g.*, Is. 51^9, Job. 3^8, 9^{13}, 26^{12}, Ps. 89^{10}). Of these the story of Jehovah's combat with Rahab or the Leviathan was the best known (Appendix III.). Naturally myths figured more prominently in the minds of the common people than in the thought of their inspired teachers. While the earlier prophets neither accepted nor openly attacked them, they usually indicated their mild disapproval by ignoring them. Only later poets and prophets, who lived when the popular belief in myths was dead, dared employ their imagery as illustrations, very much as modern writers utilize the figures suggested by Greek mythology. Israel's belief in one supreme God was irreconcilable with the premises assumed in most of the Semitic myths which the monuments have disclosed. The exalted ethical standards of the Hebrew teachers were also hostile to their often immoral implications. The result is that the Old Testament is characterized among the literary collections coming from antiquity by the comparative absence of the mythological element. Only traces of this are found in the earliest stories, where the dependence upon ancient Semitic tradition is greatest, as, for example, in the narratives of the creation, the garden of Eden, the flood, and the tower of Babel. Since in certain cases it is now possible to compare the older versions (Appendices III.-V.) with the Hebrew, the care with which the biblical writers eliminated polytheistic and immoral elements is clearly apparent. Purified, ennobled, and consecrated to an exalted purpose, these ancient myths have almost entirely lost their mythological character and have become the apt medium through which are conveyed some of the noblest spiritual truths ever presented to man. The secondary aim which influenced Israel's teachers thus to utilize them was evidently that they might save the people from the debasing influence of these popular myths. Thus, in the story of the sons of God and the daughters of men (Gen. 6^{1-4}, § 7), where the mythological character of the tradition is most evident, the familiar folk-tale is briefly introduced by the prophet that he may brand its immoral teaching with Jehovah's disapproval. Like the great Teacher of Nazareth, the prophets indicated their claim to be God's spokesmen by using those things, which were regarded as common or unclean, to make clear to men the character and purpose of the eternal Father.

Proto-scientific

The perennial questions, "Why" and "How," which are the mainspring of all scientific research, gave rise in their original form to some of the traditions found in the Old Testament. Crude though their conclusions sometimes seem, they possess a deep interest because they represent the beginnings of human science. Here the analogies are closest with the traditions of other peoples, for to similar questions much the same answers were given by races on like stages of culture. Thus almost every primitive people had its stories of the creation and the flood. These traditions, as a whole, may be classified as ætiological, for they deal with the origin and development of things. They

may, however, be divided into several distinct groups. To the first, which is concerned with the origin of the material universe and natural phenomena, properly belong the accounts of creation; many elements in the story of the garden of Eden, as, for example, the suggested origin of the pains of childbirth, and the reason why serpents, unlike other animals, are not provided with legs; the various explanations of the diversity of nations, language, and occupations given in the traditions of the sons of Adam, of the flood, and of the tower of Babel; and the popular tradition regarding the origin of the barren waste to the north of the Dead Sea.

Ethnological

Parallel to the interest which the ancients took in the natural world about them was their curiosity regarding the origin, characteristics, and relationships of peoples whose territory and history touched their own. A large number of the stories of Genesis are therefore ethnological. They embody the popular beliefs regarding the origin of the Hebrews, the Moabites, the Ammonites, the Edomites, the Ishmaelites, the Arameans and the nature of their relationship to each other. Tradition also ever had a ready answer to such queries as to why the different peoples and tribes were located in the particular territory which they later held, or why the Ishmaelites were wanderers, while the Hebrews were in possession of Canaan. True to the natural instincts of a race whose ancestors were nomads and whose social unit was the family, national and tribal traditions usually took the form of individual biographies. Even in the ethnological tables, like that found in Genesis 10, peoples, as, for example, the Egyptians and Canaanites, or cities like Tarshish and Sidon, are spoken of as individuals. In verses [13] and [14] it is stated that Egypt begat six nations, the plural ending of whose names clearly indicates that the tradition is dealing not with individuals but races. The first chapter of Judges also contains striking illustrations of the same common Semitic usage, § 114. It describes the initial conquests of the different Israelitish tribes, but each tribe is represented as an individual. Thus the conversation between Judah and "his brother" Simeon is reported in [3]. Judah, however, in [4] takes both a singular and a plural verb. This characteristic Semitic method of presenting tribal relationships and experiences must constantly be borne in mind in interpreting the stories associated with the names of Abraham, Jacob-Israel, and Joseph. The majority of these ethnological traditions are also localized in the hazy, undefined age of the patriarchs, which is removed at least four or five centuries from the period when they were committed to writing, and the only connecting link appears to have been the memory of wandering tribes. In relative point of time the period of the patriarchs corresponds in Hebrew history to the age of myth and legend among other primitive peoples. These facts suggest the much-debated problem which must be considered in connection with each of these traditions: "Are the experiences which are therein portrayed those of an individual or of a tribe?" and "Where does the realm of legend end and that of history begin?"

Historical

That a large proportion of the traditions, contained in the first eight books of the Old Testament, can properly be classified as historical in the sense that they reflect authentic facts and experiences, seems both reasonable and probable. Traditions are readily modified in the process of transmission, but ordinarily those which relate to detailed events and persons contain at least an historical nucleus. Although these ancient stories subserve far higher ends than merely perpetuating the memory of early man and his achievements, the patient investigator, after subjecting them to the searching tests of historical criticism, finds there a valuable body of data to aid him in reconstructing the outlines of early Israelitish history. Especially is this true of the stories which relate to the period beginning with the exodus. The character of the traditions changes likewise: instead of being general pictures equally true to certain stages of culture in all ages, they are filled with local details. Instead of standing independently, they are more closely knit together, as they trace the successive steps in the evolution of the Hebrew nation. Finally in the book of Judges events are usually represented as taking place as a result of ordinary rather than extraordinary means. There, through men's minds and works, Jehovah gradually, but none the less effectually, realizes his purpose in human history, not by special revelations and supernatural interventions.

Different types of historical traditions

Three distinct types of historical traditions may be distinguished. The first relates to the history of the Israelitish race. To this class certainly belong some, if not most, of the stories of the patriarchs. The migration of Abraham to Canaan, for example, represents the greater Aramean movement which brought the ancestors of the Hebrews to Palestine. This group also includes most of the stories in Exodus, Numbers, and Joshua. Another class, which includes tribal traditions, is illustrated by the stories of Dinah and Tamar (Gen. 34, 38). Here the conflicts and alliances between tribes are recorded in the form of individual biographies. In the book of Judges, however, which contains many similar narratives, the tribes themselves are the actors in the stormy dramas therein recounted. The first chapter of Judges marks the transition from the older to the later form of tribal tradition. The third class of historical traditions relates the experiences and achievements of individual heroes. Although many stories, which at first glance might be assigned to this group, properly belong to the first or second, it is obvious that the Old Testament contains many biographical sketches of the men and women who were influential in shaping Hebrew history. It is reasonable to believe that back of the varied stories associated with the name of Abraham, was a man of strong personality—probably a leader of one of the earliest Aramean migrations—who made a deep impression upon his own and later generations. Recent discoveries have also established the strong probability that the outlines of the Joseph stories are historical. The same is true of the thrilling tales told of Israel's early champions and recorded in the book of Judges.

Institutional

Another large group of traditions was intended to explain the origin and nature of existing customs and institutions. Thus the majestic first chapter of Genesis gives one of the several explanations of the origin and sanctity of the sabbath, which are found in the Old Testament. The striking details of the Feast of the Passover (which appears to have been a very old Semitic institution, cf. § 71) were all associated with the events immediately preceding the departure of the Hebrews from Egypt. In the same way the fact that the Hebrews did not eat the muscle of the thigh was explained by the story of Jacob's wrestling with the divine messenger, § 39; the peculiar limping in the sacred dances at Penuel was because Jacob's hip was lamed in the same struggle; the annual lamentation of the Gileadite women was traced to the sacrifice of Jephthah's daughter, § 144. Certain important religious customs were differently explained by different traditions. For example, in one passage circumcision is connected with Moses, § 61, while in another it is represented as first revealed to Abraham, § 19. Illustrations might be multiplied to show how early and how deep was the interest among the Israelites in the origins, especially of their religious institutions. These traditions mark the beginning of the study of religion. The same interest which prompted the question, "Why are certain institutions observed as they are?" doubtless led the people to ask, "Why are certain places, like Hebron, Shechem, Bethel, Beersheba, Penuel, and Mahanaim, regarded as holy and provided with sanctuaries to which the people make frequent pilgrimages? Why, also, are certain stones or trees or wells at these shrines regarded with especial awe and veneration?" Modern comparative religion offers a variety of answers and history demonstrates that far back in pre-Hebrew times these spots and objects had been held to be sacred, but the reply which satisfied the minds of the Israelites and confirmed their title to Canaan was that at these different places God had revealed himself to some one of their ancestors. As Jacob lay at night pillowed on a stone at Bethel, he saw the angels descending to earth from the abode of God, § 31. Hence that stone was regarded as the very threshold of heaven. At Hebron the divine beings became the guests of Abraham, § 19. Through the thorn bush on the sacred mountain Jehovah spoke to Moses, § 61, and later amidst the manifestations of his presence revealed his law through his servant to the Israelitish race, § 75. At Ophrah the messenger of God appeared to Gideon, who on his return as victor established a sanctuary there, § 141. Each holy place probably treasured some such tradition as its divine charter.

Age from which they come

Similarly the Ishmaelites had a tradition regarding their sacred well Lahai-roi. This would perhaps suggest that certain of these stories associated with the shrines of Palestine were older than the Hebrews. They all bespeak an age of reflection and advanced religious thought, when a god was no longer conceived of as dwelling in every sacred stone or tree. In their present form, also, they point to the belief in one God who at various times and places had revealed and would reveal

himself to those who needed and sought to know him. They mark, therefore, a great step forward in the history of religious faith.

Etymological traditions

Another interesting group of stories is primarily concerned with the origin and meaning of proper names. They reveal the beginnings of the science of language, although modern comparative philology has demonstrated that most of the popular etymologies therein suggested are based simply on similarity of sound between the ancient names and current Hebrew words, and not on their etymological derivation. The motive which gave rise to these peculiar traditions was obviously not philological, but rather the firm Semitic belief that the name possessed a deep significance and was indicative of the origin or character of the person or object bearing it. The number of these popular etymologies is surprisingly great. Especially in the patriarchal stories the attempt is made to explain nearly every important proper name. Thus Abraham is interpreted in Genesis 17^{6} as "the father of a multitude" *(Ab-hamon)*. Jacob is the "heel-holder," because at his birth he held his twin brother by the heel (Gen. 25^{26}). Often two distinct origins are given for the same word: in Genesis 18^{12} Isaac is so named because his mother laughed *(sahak)* when his birth was promised, while in 17^{17} it is Abraham who laughed; according to Genesis $21^{28\text{-}30}$, the famous sanctuary of Beersheba is "the well of seven" *(Beer-sheba')*, because there Abraham gave Abimelech seven lambs; but according to 21^{31} it is "the well of the oath" *(Beer-sheba')*, because there Abraham and Abimelech took oath with each other. In cases like the latter it would seem that the tradition arose as the result of a naïve endeavor to explain the name. Ordinarily, however, the etymologies are introduced simply as supplemental elements in a longer tradition.

Popular traditions

A few traditions cannot be classified under any of the above headings. The chief motive which produced them seems simply to have been the desire to entertain. Of this character is the long and elaborate story of the successful journey of Abraham's servant to secure Rebekah as a wife for Isaac, § 24; the detailed account of the tricks which Jacob and Laban played upon each other, §§ 33-37; and the familiar tales regarding Samson, §§ 147-150. Obviously they were great favorites with the people. Many stories consist of diverse elements, which probably once existed independently. Thus in the narrative of the garden of Eden, § 2, it seems clear that remnants of certain old Semitic myths are to be recognized (cf. Appendix IV.). Back of the story, as a whole, is the historical fact that the lower waters of the Tigris and Euphrates were the seat of the earliest Semitic civilization. A scientific motive is revealed in the explanation that is offered of why serpents crawl in the dust, why women suffer the pains of childbirth, and why men must toil to eat. An interest in institutions appears in the reason given for the nature and sanctity of the marriage bond. Finally, the name of Eve (Heb. *Hawwa*) is derived from the Hebrew word *to live (hawa)*, "because she was the mother of all living." Thus mythological, historical, proto-scientific, institutional, and etymological

traditions are all drawn upon by the great prophet who with a few bold strokes portrayed in immortal colors the origin, essence, and consequences of human sin. In the same way it is possible to analyze the constituent elements in such mixed traditions as the flight of Hagar, § 22, the stories regarding Beersheba, § 39, and the sin at Meribah, § 88.

Conclusion

This general survey of the Old Testament traditions has suggested how great was Israel's debt to earlier Semitic civilizations and to its own age of song and story. In the picturesque, concrete form of popular traditions were transmitted the thoughts, the beliefs, the fancies, and the experiences of preceding generations. The variety of the motives and influences which gave rise to these is astonishing. Some were at first intended simply to entertain, others to enlighten, to kindle patriotism, to instruct in the ritual, and to inspire true faith and action. They touch almost every side of human experience and meet in a remarkable manner man's varied needs. In different ages, in different circumstances, and in different minds they took form gradually under the divine direction. Coming, as many of them do, from extreme antiquity, when ethical principles were only imperfectly developed, it is not strange that they retain a few of their birthmarks. Like a mirror, they faithfully reflect every important phase in the early culture of the Hebrew race. While they demonstrate conclusively that Israel's religious and ethical education, like that of other less favored nations, was gradual and progressive, they also show with equal clearness that at a very early period the seeds of spiritual truth began to germinate and bear attractive fruits in the stories which were found on the lips of the people. Simply, naturally, and majestically the divine purpose and revelation for mankind were beginning to unfold.

II

THE TRANSMISSION AND CRYSTALLIZATION OF ISRAEL'S TRADITIONS INTO LITERATURE

A PRIMITIVE tradition, like a proverb or a folk-song, usually has a long history. Many of Israel's traditions undoubtedly continued for centuries to be recorded simply in the minds of the people. As among the nomadic Arabs to-day they were recounted during the long evenings beside the camp-fires, or as the shepherds watched their slow-moving flocks, or in the secret of the harem, or at the wells as the maidens went out to draw water, or at marriage feasts and religious festivals. Possibly, as throughout all the towns of modern Palestine, there were found professional story-tellers who, whenever men were gathered together for recreation, recited with gesture and action their bundle of tales. The stories appealed strongly to the imagination of the people, for they told of courtship, of marriage, of intrigue, and of the achievements of their ancestors, or else answered the questions which were uppermost in their minds. Other traditions, embodying the experiences of the tribe, were transmitted as sacred possessions from father to son. Another large group was treasured at the many local sanctuaries scattered throughout the land. Each time that the worshippers made a pilgrimage to the shrine, its especial cycle of traditions relating to its history and ceremonies would be recounted or recalled and thus kept fresh in the popular memory. Later survivals of this ancient custom are recorded. Thus in Exodus $12^{26, 27}$ Moses is represented as instructing the people, "when their children say to them, 'What do you mean by this ceremony?'" to tell them the story of how their ancestors were delivered from the bondage of Egypt. The same command is repeated in $13^{14, 15}$. In Joshua $4^{6, 7}$ the Israelites are likewise told to recount, when their children in later generations inquire the meaning of the heap of twelve memorial stones beside the Jordan, the story of the miraculous crossing of the river. It requires little imagination to conceive how similar traditions were perpetuated among a people who depended upon the memory rather than upon literary writings.

Method of transmission

In the process of transmission these stories were constantly being recast and supplemented, for they were being told in an age and by a race, which, true to its oriental instincts, possessed a fertile imagination, but was not regardful of exact details. The essential and dramatic elements, impressing themselves upon the memory, were retained. Technical details and all that was unnecessary were soon forgotten. This fact largely explains their picturesqueness and striking literary form. They each tell their tale clearly and dramatically, but usually in the fewest possible words. The brevity of many of them is a

Effects of transmission upon the literary form: absence of technical details

marked characteristic. Some of them are condensed into five or six verses, where a modern historian, or even a later Hebrew writer, would have required almost as many chapters (cf., *e. g.*, the account of Absalom's rebellion). In the account of the tower of Babel we ask in vain a score of questions which are left unanswered. The same is true of the majority of the traditions in the first eight books of the Old Testament, and yet from the point of view of a popular story no essential is omitted. Because of the absence of cumbersome details, all attention is focused on the main themes. Where, as in the suit for Rebekah, § 24, or in some of the Joseph stories, discursiveness takes the place of brevity, it is evident that a later tendency to expand and embellish has been at work.

Few characters

The same effective economy and simplicity are usually observed in the introduction of characters. The actors are always few. For example, in the drama enacted in the garden of Eden there are but four: Jehovah, the man, the woman, and the serpent; in the oldest stories of the Egyptian plagues two, Moses and Pharaoh. Attention is also constantly fixed upon the chief characters. Subordinate personages are introduced only when required to bring out the action, and then they are often dismissed without further notice. Little attempt is made to characterize them.

Only a few striking characteristics presented

Even in the case of the chief personages only the most striking characteristics are portrayed. This is done not abstractly, but, as in actual experience, by means of scenes in which the actors reveal their personality by their deeds or words. Their one or two dominant traits are thus vividly set forth. If the hero be prominent, his various qualities are brought out in different stories. Thus the tradition of Abraham's separation from Lot, § 15, simply illustrates the patriarch's generosity, and that of the sacrifice of Isaac, § 23, his absolute devotion to Jehovah.

Characters treated as types

The different personages also figure as the superlative embodiments of their chief characteristic. Cain is the defiant murderer; Noah and Abraham are the Hebrew models of piety and obedience; Jacob is the worthy ancestor of a race, which combined in a most astonishing manner energy and shrewdness in attaining material possessions with exalted religious aspirations; Joseph is the upright, successful man of affairs, and Pharaoh the typical oriental despot. Minor characters, like Rachel, the favorite, and Leah, the despised wife, are the representatives of the less prominent members of that ancient society. Practically every type of individual and every phase of human character known to the early Hebrew world are represented in the Old Testament traditions. It is evident that they sprang from the soil of common experience and that their roots are embedded in reality. The fact that many of the actors who figure in the earlier stories, like the man and the woman in the third chapter of Genesis, must be regarded as types rather than as ordinary human beings, simply gives them a universal interest. Even though the hero be an historical charac-

ter, the tendency to magnify his more prominent characteristics and ignore all others is irresistible. The result was a great gain rather than a loss. It was because they segregated, magnified, and presented in concrete form certain universal human traits, that these ancient traditions lent themselves so readily to the purposes of Israel's later teachers.

Abounding in striking contrasts

The Old Testament writers always appreciated the value of contrast. This element is especially prominent in these traditions. Jehovah's unstinted provision for the man and woman in the garden is the background of their disobedience and condemnation to toil and pain. The command to slay Isaac has for its preface the glorious promises assured to Abraham through his descendants. Joseph, the slave in prison, sold by his kinsmen, is the antithesis of the man raised to a position second only to Pharaoh himself. Moses, the outlaw leader of a disorganized body of serfs, stands opposed to the despotic king of Egypt.

Full of dramatic action and dialogue

The chief charm of these stories for their ancient, as well as their modern hearers, lies in the fact that they are full of dramatic action. As has already been noted, the traits and feelings of the different heroes are usually indicated by their acts or conversations. The story-teller does not need to describe Abraham as a pious man; the patriarch's acts and the words of Jehovah himself establish the fact. Joseph's meeting with his brothers is full of genuine pathos, but the feeling of those present is simply suggested by the action. Even such a subjective experience as temptation is represented by a dialogue between the woman and the serpent. Thus, the attention of the hearer is always fixed on some objective action, to which all else is subordinated; just enough is suggested to keep the imagination alert; there are few asides; everything moves on rapidly toward the culmination on which all interest is centred. If a modern analogy were to be sought, it would be found in the historical novel.

Close unity of the parts

Each complete tradition is in itself a miniature drama in which different scenes succeed each other in rapid succession and in close logical sequence, making the literary analysis exceedingly clear and simple. Thus the drama of creation contains seven scenes, representing the work of each of the six days with the impressive pause on the seventh. The account of securing a wife for Isaac, § 24, also includes seven distinct scenes, which present in logical succession: (1) Abraham receiving news regarding the family of his brother Nahor, the Aramean; (2) his solemn instructions to his trusty servant; (3) the servant's journey and arrival at a well in Aram-Naharaim; (4) his meeting and conversation with Rebekah; (5) his reception at her home; (6) his return with Rebekah; (7) their meeting with Isaac. That this dramatic method of telling a story is very old, is shown by the fact that the ancient song of Deborah likewise consists of a succession of scenes or pictures, which vividly present the essential elements of the narrative. The same literary structure is also discernible in the oldest Babylonian epics (Appendices IV.-V.).

This common characteristic is but one of the many indications that

Originally current in poetical form

the oldest traditions were probably once current in poetical form. This was to be anticipated on *a priori* grounds, for poetry is universally the earliest form of literary expression. To this rule the Hebrews were no exception, as is attested by the so-called "Blessing of Jacob" in Genesis 49, and the "Song of Deborah" in Judges 5, and by a number of ancient poems scattered through the first seven books of the Old Testament. The manner in which these are introduced into the prose narratives indicates that they usually represent the older originals from which the later story-tellers and historians drew much, and in some cases all, of their data. Thus in the story of Lamech, § 4, the detailed facts presented in verse[19] are all found in the poetical fragment quoted in[23, 24]. Similarly, the little that is known regarding the Israelitish victories over Sihon, king of the Amorites, is apparently derived from the ancient poem, fragments of which are preserved in Numbers 21.

Israel's early poetical literature

In connection with one of these quotations (vs.[14]) the name of the source from which it is taken is given, "The Book of the Wars of Jehovah." The title suggests the contents of this primitive collection of national songs, recounting Israel's victories in the name of Jehovah. Elsewhere references with quotations are found (Josh. 10^{12-14}, II Sam. 1^{17-27}) to a similar poetic collection called "The Book of the Righteous One" (*i. e.*, Israel). The fragments, which are quoted, incidentally reveal the variety and extent of Israel's early heritage of song and ballad, which lies back of the prose traditions. It is also significant that usually in the oldest traditions, when the chief characters speak, their words are in poetry. Thus in the story of the garden of Eden, § 2, the man's address to his wife and Jehovah's words of condemnation have the balanced parallelism and similarly recurring accents, which characterize all other Semitic, as well as Hebrew, poetry (cf. Introd. vol. V.). The same phenomenon repeats itself frequently throughout Genesis, and is indicated typographically in the translation. Many of these poetic passages, like $4^{6, 7}$, 9^{25-27}, 25^{23}, $27^{27-29, 34-40}$, 49^{2-27}, are ancient oracles, precursors of the apocalyptic vision of later times (cf. Introd., vol. III.). Conclusive evidence that at least certain of Israel's traditions were originally in epic form is furnished by the older Babylonian versions of the creation and flood stories which are characterized by a highly developed poetical structure (Appendices III.-IV.). The fourth and fifth chapters of Judges, which contain two complete, parallel accounts of the great victory of the Hebrews over the Canaanites of central Palestine, offer a good illustration of the history of many Israelitish traditions: the poetical version in the fifth chapter is readily recognized as the older, while the fourth chapter embodies the later prose parallel, § 139. The recognition that the literary form of many of the Old Testament traditions was originally poetical is important for their intelligent interpretation and appreciation. Although their final garb is plain prose, they have retained much of their original elegiac and epic beauty. Like all true poetry, they aim not only to reflect facts, but also to entertain, to instruct, and to inspire noble thoughts and acts.

Early origin of the traditions

Contrary to the position sometimes maintained, it seems probable that most of the stories found in the first eight books of the Old Testament originated before or during the age of song and story (c. 1250-1050 B.C.). While in the plastic oral stage they also appear to have assumed their present outlines. This conclusion is not only supported by analogies, but also by the character of the traditions themselves. Like watermarks, they contain within themselves the history of their origin. Many of the striking variations between the different versions of the same tradition could only have arisen while they were in the oral stage.

Growth of cycles of traditions

To the same period probably belongs the association together of certain originally independent traditions. Many of the individual stories themselves deal with several distinct themes and contain diverse elements. Perhaps the best illustration of this is the story of the tower of Babel. It is concerned with answering the three very different questions, "Why are there various languages and races?" and "What was the origin of the huge, seemingly incomplete mound which in or near Babylon rose abruptly from the level plain?" and, finally, "What is the derivation of the name Babylon?" Into the story two originally distinct traditions seem to have been woven: one which told of the building of a city (Babylon) with the aim of gaining renown thereby, and another which described the rearing of a huge tower with its top in the sky. From Hebrew and other primitive literatures might be cited many examples of the natural tendency to combine distinct stories, because they have certain points in common. Thus naturally arose the earliest cycles of tradition found in the Old Testament. The uniting bond at first may have been that they were associated with the same sanctuary. Thus, for example, the Abraham and Lot stories centre about Hebron, where they were originally treasured; or oftener they are joined together because they relate to the same leading character or characters. In this way apparently arose the original groups of Abraham, Jacob, Joseph, Gideon, Jephthah, and Samson stories.

Union of the patriarchal stories

It is probable, also, that in the age of song and story the more important cycles of patriarchal stories were brought into conjunction with each other and the relationships between Abraham, Lot, Isaac, Jacob, and Joseph traced. When the different Hebrew tribes began to recognize the common bond of blood and religion and to unite—a process which was not complete until the days of David—the amalgamation of their various traditions doubtless proceeded rapidly.

Literary activity during the age of prophetic narration

The most important work of the succeeding period, which may be designated as the creative age of prophetic narration (cf. Chart, frontispiece), beginning with the establishment of the Hebrew kingdom, about 1050, and continuing until about 750 B.C., when Amos and Hosea, by their preaching, inaugurated a new epoch in the literary and religious life of the Hebrews, was to collect and put into permanent written form the great body of narratives which recorded the past experiences and thought of the race. The age was also filled with stirring

deeds which commanded the attention of these writers, so that their first task was to record the events which stood nearest to them in point of time.

Influences which led to the crystallization of tradition into literature

The conditions and influences which led certain Israelitish writers to transcribe the popular traditions of their race can be traced in the light of history and the testimony of the traditions themselves. As long as the different tribes lived their life apart, as they did until the end of the so-called period of the Judges, they were each able to remember their own traditions; but when they were all united under David the common inheritance of ancient lore became too great for the mind of man to retain.

Introduction of writing

At the same time the Hebrew system of writing, which seems itself to have been an inheritance through the highly civilized Canaanites and Phœnicians, appears for the first time to have come into use. Pioneers struggling for homes have little need or time for literary pursuits. A stable government, certain progress in the arts of civilization, and national experiences, which are worthy of recording, are the necessary precursors of literature. These conditions were first developed among the Hebrews after the establishment of the monarchy.

Favorable political conditions

The days of Saul and David were filled with protracted wars which engrossed the attention of the people. History was still in the making. The peaceful reign of Solomon, when king and people turned to building and development of the arts therefore, furnishes the earliest background for the beginnings of a native Hebrew literature. The recorder became an important official in the court, which suggests that state annals, probably containing brief memoranda of the more important events in the reign, began to be kept. These were in all probability the basis of the later "Acts of Solomon" and "The Chronicles (lit. *Book of Days*) of the Kings of Israel and Judah," to which frequent reference is made in Samuel-Kings.

Recognition of the need of historical records

In antiquity the events of one period are usually first recorded by the historian of the next. While eye-witnesses survive, who can bear personal testimony to the facts, little need is felt for a written history. In the days after the division of the Hebrew empire (about 930 B.C.), when its glories were only memories of the past, the incentives were strong to preserve the traditions which had already sprung up concerning them. The products of this activity are the narratives of the wars and family history of Israel's first three kings, in the book of Samuel-Kings. Kindred interests and impulses in turn led the same or later writers to collect in succession the traditions regarding the immediately preceding periods. The final limit was the creation of the universe and man, for, regarding this far-distant event, primitive tradition spoke with assurance. Thus all the indications contained in Israel's history point to the century or two beginning with about 950 B.C. as the era when the oral traditions of an earlier age were collected and woven into connected groups of narratives.

Although their individual names will never be known, the character-

istics and aims of the writers who gathered the earliest groups of the traditions can be definitely determined. They were patriots interested in the past experiences of their race; but they were more than historians, they were prophets who looked backward, that they might find there truths and illustrations which would be helpful in moulding the life and thoughts of the present and future. This is shown by the fact that from an historical point of view their narratives are not proportionate. Political events of far-reaching national importance are ignored or passed over with only a brief notice, while, for example, the account of Abraham's sacrifice of Isaac or David's private sins and their consequences, are treated with great detail. Incidentally, these early prophetic writers have given us a vast amount of historical data, and for that reason they are sometimes called historians, but the title represents only a secondary element in their work. To them the past history and floating traditions of their race were simply a valuable collection of familiar, effective illustrations with which to enforce upon the minds of their contemporaries the significant religious truths which it was their mission to impart. Whether or not the primitive traditions were in every detail historical was of no concern to them. In common with their uncritical contemporaries they doubtless considered them to be authentic; and yet the freedom with which they modified and adapted them to their purpose shows how little they regarded the question of exact historicity. They used them very much as the Great Teacher employed parables, and for the same reasons, namely, because they were simple and therefore intelligible to the most obtuse, familiar and therefore sure to kindle interest, and, above all, marvellously fitted to be a medium for imparting religious truths.

Aims of the men who committed Israel's traditions to writing

Many popular traditions they undoubtedly rejected as unsuited to their uses. Out of the vast storehouse of the popular memory they selected those which were worthy of perpetuation. As the stories come from their hands, each illustrates its own individual teaching. Some, like the narrative of the garden of Eden, present in most concise form the main essentials of the prophetic doctrine. The ethical and religious value of others, as, for example, certain of the Joseph stories, is found in the fact that they are constituent elements in a greater narration. Since Israel's history, as a whole, was a supreme illustration of Jehovah's attitude toward the race and of man's duty to God, the various traditions were also in time woven together into continuous narratives.

Principle of selection

In general, it is noticeable that in the oldest sections of Joshua and Judges, which were probably the first to be crystallized into literature, the historical purpose is very prominent, and the religious far less significant. On the other hand, the traditions in the preceding books, which deal with earlier periods, but which were later committed to writing, reveal at every point the prophetic aim and teaching, while they furnish comparatively little historical data concerning the themes which they treat. The first explanation, of course, is that oral tradi-

Relative amount of historical data

tion is not skilled in retaining details, but is interested in types. Hence the longer the period of transmission, the less the amount of exact data and the more striking the typical elements. But the prophets were able also more perfectly to adapt to their purpose the plastic material of primitive tradition. Moreover, the polytheistic and immoral elements in those ancient stories often made a fundamental revision and purification absolutely necessary.

The real value of Old Testament traditions

It is obvious, therefore, that in interpreting and estimating the value of an Old Testament tradition two distinct questions must be considered: (1) "What was its original form and significance?" and (2) "What were the teachings which the prophetic or priestly writer, who adapted it to his ends, was seeking thereby to enforce?" The first is primarily of interest to the historian, the archæologist and the student of comparative religion, and by them it must be answered; the second vitally concerns all who find in the Bible a message from God through man to man. It is also clear that the answer to the second is little affected by the replies which may be given to the first. A modern preacher's hearers do not stop to inquire what was the genesis of the stories which he uses in illustrating his sermon or whether or not they are strictly scientific or historical. If they aid in making clear his message it suffices. The permanent religious value of the majority of the Old Testament traditions is likewise entirely independent of their origin or their scientific and historical accuracy. It depends upon the use made of it by the inspired teacher who appropriated it, and, therefore, ultimately upon the nature of the God-given message he had to convey.

Conclusion

In order to study the Old Testament traditions intelligently and profitably, it is therefore important to remember that they represent the work not of one writer but of scores. Transmitted through the medium of many different minds, they gradually assumed their present unique form. The generations, which in transmitting have transformed them, have contributed fully as much as the age which produced them. Finally, to Israel's inspired teachers who committed them to writing, adapting them to their noble purpose, they owe their permanent religious value and authority. Their present literary form suggests their later history. Guided by these indications, one of the first aims of modern biblical scholarship is to recover as far as possible the different groups of narratives, as they came from the pens of the prophets and priests who first wrote them down.

III

THE PRESENT LITERARY FORM AND CONTENTS OF ISRAEL'S EARLY RECORDS

Position of the traditions in the Old Testament

THE majority of Israel's early traditions are recorded in the first eight books of the Old Testament. Of these eight, all of Leviticus, most of Deuteronomy, and nearly half of Exodus and Numbers consist of laws or else of traditional precedents, intended to illustrate the origin or to establish the authority of certain institutions. Their theme and purpose are so different from those of the popular narratives that they constitute a distinct group by themselves (cf. vol. IV.). With the exception of certain national songs, like Genesis 49 and Deuteronomy 32 and 33, practically all the rest of the material found in Genesis to Ruth inclusive, consists of stories, most of which were probably once current as oral traditions.

Present principle of arrangement

These have been grouped in the Old Testament according to subject-matter. The order in general is that of the events treated. Leviticus, Deuteronomy, and Ruth stand by themselves; but the remaining books, Genesis, Exodus, Numbers, Joshua, and Judges, each represent distinct stages in the evolution of the Israelitish race and together form a reasonably complete and continuous record.

Literary analysis of Genesis

The book of Genesis constitutes a most fitting introduction to the Old Testament. It has been appropriately called the "Book of Origins." The traditional origin of the universe, of man, of sin, of murder, of civilization, of the different nations and languages, of the Hebrews, of their neighbors in southwestern Asia, and of the primitive institutions and sanctuaries of Canaan are its chief themes. The book contains four distinct groups of narratives: (1) traditions regarding the beginnings of human history, 1^{1}-11^{9}; (2) the Abraham stories, 11^{10}-25^{20}; (3) the Jacob stories, 25^{21}-36, 38; (4) the Joseph stories, 37, 39-50.

Introduction: traditions regarding the beginnings of human history

The first, 1^{1}-11^{9}, includes certain universal traditions which serve as an introduction to the subsequent narratives. With the possible exception of the story of Cain and Abel, the elements which enter into them appear to have been originally derived from the cycle of primitive traditions inherited by the Israelites from their older Semitic ancestors. It is not surprising, therefore, that there is no close unity between the individual stories within this group. It is rather a bundle of traditions. Chapters 1 and 2 contain two variant accounts of the creation, 4 and 5 two distinct lists of the antediluvians, and 6-9 two versions of the flood-story (cf. § 8). While a few assume the facts presented in others, as a rule, each individual narrative is complete in itself, and often con-

tains statements which reveal a lack of acquaintance with the contents of those which precede and follow it in the present context.

Structure of the Abraham stories

The second group, 11^{10}-25^{20}, includes the various stories in which Abraham (Abram) figures as the chief character. Here attention for the first time begins to be focused on themes primarily of interest to the Hebrews. Again, the unity is the result of arrangement rather than of any innate relationship between the different narratives. Many inconsistencies, due to the distinct points of view reflected in the individual stories, are also discernible. Thus, for example in 20, Sarah is represented as a young and attractive woman, but in 18^{11} it has already been stated that she was "old and advanced in years." A close examination discloses at least nine examples of duplicate versions. Thus, for example, chapter 17 contains a variant account of the divine promise and covenant with Abraham, which is already recorded in 15. Chapters 16 and 21 each have their own account of the departure of Hagar.

Their origin

While each of the traditions was probably once current in independent form, there are indications that they were grouped together in cycles before they were committed to writing. In one of these cycles Abraham and Lot figure, and the geographical background is southeastern Canaan; in another Abram and Ishmael or Abraham and Abimelech, and the background is the territory to the south of Palestine; and in still another Abraham and Isaac. Hebron appears to have been the common sanctuary to which Moabites, Ammonites, Ishmaelites, Hagarites, as well as Canaanites, resorted, bringing their tribal traditions, which became in time the property of the ancient shrine. Later, together with the soil and institutions of Canaan, they passed into the possession of the Hebrews, in whose keeping they remained until they were utilized by the prophetic and priestly historians.

The Isaac stories

The third group, 25^{21}-36^{43}, 38, contains the stories which centre about Jacob-Israel. The traditions regarding Isaac are few in number; the two important ones are but variants of those associated with Abraham, §§ 13, 14, and the others are closely attached as mere episodes in the Abraham and Jacob narratives. The character of Isaac is dimly sketched. The stories concerning him are localized at Beersheba, indicating that he was probably the local hero or deity of the nomadic tribes which frequented this southern shrine. In the few traditions which survive, Isaac is simply a connecting link between the Abraham and Jacob stories.

Structure of the Jacob stories

The latter have been very closely welded together. Ten or more duplicates have been discovered, but they are amalgamated so perfectly that the analysis is often difficult and the results unsatisfactory.

Early cycles

Certain lines of cleavage suggest the older cycles of tradition which were thus united. Four may be distinguished. The largest collection includes the Jacob-Esau stories. Into the middle of these has been introduced the Jacob-Laban cycle. Both are enriched by a collection of traditions, originally treasured at the sanctuaries which, like Bethel,

Penuel, and Mahanaim, claimed Jacob as their hero. The fourth cycle includes the local traditions of certain tribes which traced their descent from Jacob-Israel. Their connection with the other stories is very loose. In the tradition of Judah and Tamar in 38, for example, there is no reference to Jacob, and, as far as its contents and connection with the context is concerned, it might be transferred to the book of Judges and joined to the primitive tribal records found in the first chapter.

Origin

The character and contents of these early cycles indicate that the Jacob traditions were originally drawn from a great variety of sources, most of which were very ancient. Although adapted by the Hebrews so as to reflect their own relations with the Edomites, the Jacob-Esau stories in their original outlines appear to be pre-Israelitish. The same is probably true of the nucleus of the Jacob-Laban collection, although their form was modified in the light of the later relations between the Hebrews and the Arameans. In common with most of the shrine-stories, the third cycle may be assigned to a very early period. The fourth collection, which is concerned with the relations between the Hebrew tribes and their Canaanite neighbors, may well have originated among the Israelites themselves.

The Joseph stories

In the fourth and last group of stories in Genesis, 37, 39-50, Joseph is the chief figure. As a whole, they are far more closely knit together than those in the other divisions of the book. Interest is constantly concentrated upon the varied fortunes of one individual. Succeeding narratives assume the facts presented in the preceding. Few of the stories are entirely complete in themselves. Variant versions of the same traditions are not prominently in evidence; but on closer examination at least nine distinct duplicates appear and traces of others are discernible.

Origin

The atmosphere and setting are Egyptian. The story of Joseph's temptation embodies elements found in the old Egyptian tale of the "Two Brothers" (cf. Appendix VIII.). Other individual stories may have been suggested by Egyptian and earlier Semitic models, but the point of view throughout and the character of Joseph himself are distinctly Hebrew.

General characteristics of Exodus

The book of Exodus introduces a new type of narrative. Instead of tribal traditions in the form of personal biographies and family chronicles, it records the experiences of an incipient nation. Interest still centres about an individual (Moses), who stands as the representative of the period; but henceforth it is the unfolding life of the Hebrew people which gives unity to the different stories. As a result, the narrative becomes more connected and the traditions more homogeneous. They are also, for the most part, of native rather than of foreign origin. Duplicate versions of the same incidents are common. Of the more important events there are usually three distinct accounts, which agree in general, but differ decidedly in details and point of view.

Exodus consists of eight groups of narratives, which relate to: (1)

Literary analysis

the bondage of the Hebrews in Egypt and the rise of the deliverer Moses, 1^{1}-7^{7}; (2) the plagues and wonders, 7^{8}-12^{36}; (3) the exodus, 12^{37}-15^{21}; (4) the journey from the Red Sea to Sinai, 15^{22}-18; (5) the covenant and giving of the law at Sinai, 19-24; (6) directions regarding the construction of the tabernacle and the consecration of priests, 25-31; (7) the apostasy of the people and renewal of the broken tables of the law, 32-34; (8) the making of the tabernacle and the visible entrance of Jehovah's glory, 35-40.

Nature of the contents

In the first half of the book the interest is in the history of the Israelites, but in the second half it is fixed upon their laws and institutions, and the historical narratives are introduced simply to furnish a setting for the legal material. Transitions are often abrupt, and there is very little connection between the different groups of traditions, especially in the second part of the book. Some reflect the point of view and aims of the patriotic prophet; while others reveal the very different interests of the priest and the legalist.

Relation of Numbers to the rest of the Pentateuch

In connection with the divine revelation at Sinai, recorded in Ex. 19, 20, are placed the great body of Israel's laws, found in Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers. Leviticus contains no narrative material; but Numbers, like Exodus, consists of mingled laws and traditions. The laws and precedents in Numbers 1^{1}-10^{10} are the natural continuation of the legal material in Exodus 35-40 and Leviticus; while the rest of the book is the immediate sequel to Jehovah's promise to lead his people, recorded in Exodus 33.

Literary analysis

In its present arrangement the book of Numbers falls into four divisions: (1) 1^{1}-10^{10}, the census, arrangement of the camp, and certain laws and regulations given at Sinai; (2) 10^{11}-20^{13}, events and laws associated with Kadesh, and the adjacent wilderness; (3) 20^{14}-27^{22}, events, connected with the march from Kadesh and the conquest of the east-Jordan territory, and the appointment of Joshua as Moses's successor; (4) 28-36, laws and regulations promulgated on the plains of Moab. The plan of arrangement is therefore primarily geographical —incidents and institutions associated by tradition with the same locality being loosely joined together.

Character of the contents

The groups of laws in Numbers stand by themselves. The individual traditions reflect different purposes and points of view. Three accounts of the more important events, like the sending out of the spies, or the smiting of the rock at Meribah, can readily be distinguished. The book represents a period of approximately forty years (cf. 1^{1}, 10^{11}, 33^{38}). The events centre about Sinai, the arrival at Kadesh, and the journey to the east-Jordan. There is little concerning the traditional forty years of wandering. The connection between the different narratives is not close. The book contains rather a collection of individual scenes in the life of the Hebrew people, selected to conserve either a religious or a legal purpose.

The immediate sequel to the announcement of Moses's death and the appointment of Joshua as his successor in Numbers $27^{12\text{-}23}$ is the account

of the death of the great leader in Deuteronomy 34. The closing scene of Moses's life furnishes the setting of a large body of laws (Num. 28-36 and Dt. 5-26, 28). The legal code of Deuteronomy is prefaced by two condensed retrospects, placed in the mouth of Moses: the one, 1^{6}-3^{29}, covering the period from the departure of the Hebrews from Horeb to their arrival in Moab, and the other, 9^{8}-10^{11}, the apostasy at Sinai and the incidents immediately following (Ex. 32-34). These simply reproduce the facts already presented in the prophetic narratives of Exodus and Numbers. Sometimes entire verses are transcribed word for word. While the *résumés* of the wilderness history add practically no new data, they are exceedingly valuable in determining the original order of the events.

Narrative portions of Deuteronomy

Although the book of Joshua is placed in the Jewish canon, not under *The Law,* but at the beginning of the second collection, *The Prophets,* it is not an appendix, but rather the sequel, to the books which precede. The different threads of narrative, which run through them, all reappear.

Place of Joshua in the Bible

Originally it constituted one of the sections of that extended history, which began with the creation and ended with the capture of Jerusalem by the Babylonians (Gen.—II. Kgs.). It was probably classified under *The Prophets* because, with a few exceptions (*e. g.,* 20^{3-6}), it contains no laws, and, above all, because, unlike the first five books, it was not associated by the later Jews, who made the different collections, with the authoritative name of Moses. Its classification under *The Prophets* is in general felicitous, for, although it contains no oral prophecies except the addresses in the mouth of Joshua, it consists for the most part of stories, drawn from Israel's traditions to illustrate and enforce vital prophetic teachings.

Why classified as prophetic

Its theme is the conquest and establishment of the Hebrews in Canaan, and its title, like that of many of the historical books, is the name of the chief figure and representative of the epoch and movement which it records.

Theme

Its plan of arrangement is partially chronological and partially according to theme. It includes: (1) traditions regarding the conquest, 1-12; (2) accounts of the distribution of the land of Canaan, 13-22; (3) Joshua's farewell addresses, 23, 24. It shows at every point the marks of careful editorship. It opens with a general introduction (chap. 1), and contains several editorial summaries (*e. g.,* 12).

Literary analysis

The first group of traditions, 1-12, traces the fortunes of the Israelites from the time they left the east-Jordan until they were masters of Canaan. Minor inconsistencies and differences in literary style point to earlier duplicate versions of the same incidents; but the history, as a whole, moves on logically without serious breaks, each succeeding narrative leading up to the others, until all of Israel's foes are vanquished. In conclusion, there is a long detailed list of the kings conquered, each entered in successive lines with the total at the bottom, as in an account book, 12 (cf. § 116, note). The statements which figure so prominently

Joshua 1-12

in Judges 1, that most of the cities of Canaan remained in the possession of the Canaanites, find no place in this carefully harmonized division of the book.

Joshua 13–22

The second group describes the territory assigned and occupied by the different tribes. Certain passages (*e. g.*, 13^{1-13}) contain statements that not all the land of Canaan was conquered; but the rest assume that the only problem remaining was its equable division. Duplicate and variant accounts of the assignment of territory are also found. Chapters 23 and 24 contain two very different versions of Joshua's farewell address, the one hortatory, the other an exalted and instructive review of the past experiences of the nation. Their relationship to the similar addresses, attributed to Moses in Deuteronomy, and to the sermons of an Amos or Jeremiah is very close.

Joshua 23, 24

General characteristics of Judges

The opening words of Judges, *Now it came to pass after the death of Joshua,* were probably intended by the one who wrote them to convey the impression that the book was the sequel to Joshua; but its contents demonstrate that many of the incidents which it records were contemporary. In the first chapter, for example, is found a brief primitive account of the invasion of Canaan by the different tribes. Several verses are identical with the corresponding accounts of the conquest in Joshua (cf., *e. g.*, Judg. $1^{20b, 10b-15}$ and Josh. 15^{14-19}; Judg. 1^{21} and Josh. 15^{63}). The rest of the book is devoted to a description of the victories by which the individual tribes gained and maintained their local supremacy. Parallel accounts of the same events are often found. While the different stories are loosely fitted into a chronological framework, it becomes evident on examination that they are neither continuous nor closely connected. They rather contain flash-light pictures of the more important actors and events in that stirring period when the Hebrews were not only securing homes in Canaan, but also gaining valuable experiences which were absolutely necessary before they could crystallize into a nation. Later generations styled the popular leaders *judges* (cf. § 135), and consequently the period and book are called that of the *Judges*. *The period of conquest and settlement* is a more exact title. The epoch corresponded in many ways to the colonial period in American history.

Literary analysis

The book of Judges consists of three unequal groups of narratives: (1) a brief account of the conquests and location of the different tribes, 1^{1}-2^{5}; (2) stories regarding the Hebrew deliverers and the gradual establishment and consolidation of the tribes, 2^{6}-16^{31}; (3) an appendix, containing the account of the migration of the Danites and establishment of their sanctuary, and the crime of the Gibeathites and its punishment, 17-21. The book at once suggests careful and repeated editing. In a sense, it is complete and stands apart by itself.

Judges 1^{1}–3^{6}

Instead of merely continuing the narratives of Joshua and the Pentateuch, 1^{1}-2^{5} presents a summary of the events following the crossing of the Jordan until the tribes had gained a foothold in the territory which each later possessed. This is followed in 2^{6}-3^{6} by a detailed introduc-

tion to the second group of stories which constitutes the real book of Judges, 3^{7}-16^{31}.

In 2^{11-19} are formulated the lessons which the editor, who combined the stories, drew from them. They are that, when the Israelites were unfaithful to Jehovah and worshipped other gods, he punished them at the hands of their heathen neighbors; but, when his people repented, he raised champions who delivered them. Each narrative is fitted into a setting which embodies this religious philosophy of history, even though the contents of the primitive stories do not always confirm this theory. To this same framework also belong the statements regarding the duration of the rule of each judge or deliverer. It is assumed that they ruled over all Israel and that their reigns were in succession, although the original stories make it perfectly clear that the judges were local deliverers, often contemporaneous with each other, and that the extent of their territory was very different from that of the kings of a later day. The didactic teaching of the book

The stories in the appendix, 17-21, are very loosely joined to the rest of the book and, like 1^{1}-2^{5}, do not appear to have been an original part of it. Furthermore, they differ from those which precede in that their interest is in religious and ethical institutions rather than in political events. The appendix, 17-21

It is not difficult to infer from their character and contents what was the origin of the stories in Judges. They were at first the possessions of the different clans or tribes, which figure in them, and they kept alive the memory of the deeds of the tribal champions. Different traditions were doubtless cherished at different centres. Ehud was the local hero of Gilgal. Deborah and Barak apparently belonged to the tribe of Issachar (cf. note § 139); Gideon and Abimelech to Ophrah and Shechem; Jephthah to Mizpah in Gilead. The character of the Samson stories proclaims that they were the possession of the common people, especially of southwestern Canaan. The union of all the tribes gave a universal value to these popular records of an almost pre-historic age. Later editors, who employed them with a view to influencing the national conscience, naturally read back into this early period the ideas and institutions of their day, but they carefully preserved the integrity of the original narratives as they found them. The result is that the book of Judges is a bundle of tribal traditions, some of them antedating the birth of the Hebrew kingdom and presenting marvellously realistic portraits of the nation in the making. Ultimate origin of the traditions in Judges

Ruth is one of the few books in the Old Testament which constitutes a single, literary unit. Its contents, as well as its position in the Greek Old Testament, strongly suggest that it was once a part of the appendix to the book of Judges, 17-21, for, like the stories found there, it is concerned not with political but with religious and social themes. Book of Ruth

Whether this be true or not (cf. § 134), it seems exceedingly probable that Judges 17-21 and Ruth are from a little cycle of stories originally treasured at Bethlehem of Judah. It is significant that each is Origin

intimately associated with that important southern town. In Judges 17 it is repeatedly stated that the young Levite, who became the priest of Micah the Ephraimite and later presided at the sanctuary of Dan, was from Bethlehem of Judah. The victim of the lust of the Gibeathites in Judges 19 was from the same place, and the opening scene in the tragedy is located there. It is also distinctly stated that the husband and mother-in-law of Ruth were from Bethlehem of Judah ($1^{1, 2}$), and most of the story finds its setting in this famous little town. It is fortunate, therefore, that the Latin and English translators followed the Greek in placing it immediately after Judges.

Evidence of compilation

This general survey has incidentally revealed a few of the many and complex data which must be considered in formulating a working hypothesis regarding the history and present relations of the different narratives found in the Old Testament. The evidence is convincing that the first seven books, like most of those found in the Bible and the writings which come to us from the Orient, are the result of compilation—that is, their different parts have been derived from older sources, oral and written, and combined in the order in which they now appear. The presence of scores of duplicate versions of the same story, some of which agree almost verbatim, while others differ radically in language, style, general representation and point of view, confirms the testimony of the history that not one but several distinct writers or groups of writers first put these variant versions of the oral traditions into literary form. Furthermore, when they are carefully examined, certain stories are found to share in common the same linguistic, stylistic, sociological, and theological characteristics. Together they constitute a connected, consistent narrative, which, as a whole, is parallel to and yet radically distinct from certain other continuous narratives, which consist likewise of groups of homogeneous stories.

Indications which led to the discovery of the original groups of narratives

As is well known, the first fact to attract the attention of careful biblical scholars was that, in certain sections, *God (Elohim)* was always used as the designation of the Deity, while in others only *Jehovah (Yahweh)*. Further examination demonstrated that the narratives thus related consistently employed similar synonyms, such as *Jacob, Horeb,* and *Midianite,* while another group of stories used others, such as *Israel, Sinai,* and *Ishmaelite.* In addition to words, a long list of idioms and stylistic peculiarities was discovered to be characteristic of each of the different groups. These literary watermarks were in time found to be but the surface indications of more fundamental points of likeness and difference, involving method of representation, conceptions of the Deity, and didactic purpose.

The work of discovery

For at least four centuries the scholars of Christendom have devoted much of their attention to collecting and interpreting the extensive and complex data. Many different hypotheses have been propounded to explain the facts and have in turn been modified in the light of additional evidence. Gradually the general conclusions, which are now almost universally held by critical students in all Christian lands, have

been formulated. The list of those who have made important contributions to the final results is now exceedingly long.

Value of the results

The conclusions are not those of an individual, nor of a school, nor even of one generation of scholars. They are based not on theories, nor on the often fanciful traditions of Jewish rabbis or early church fathers, but on the solid basis of the facts presented by the Old Testament books themselves. They are in turn substantiated by the independent testimony of history and comparative literature. It is safe, therefore, to regard them as no longer on trial or under suspicion, but rather as the foundations—as sure as enlightened human insight and scientific method can discover—upon which Old Testament interpretation and doctrine are in the future to rest.

The three basal conclusions

The first of these general conclusions is that the crystallization of the Old Testament traditions into literary form was gradual and progressive and that the different collections of homogeneous narratives are the work of four distinct groups or schools of writers who flourished at different periods in Israel's history. The second is that the present arrangement of the stories is the result, first of the close amalgamation of extracts from the two older prophetic groups and then of their being combined with the late prophetic and very late priestly narratives. The third is that these composite histories have been supplemented at different stages by later additions and harmonistic and editorial notes. Thus their literary is nearly as long and fully as complex as their oral history.

The New Testament analogy: Tatian's Diatessaron

As is well known, Tatian, the pupil of Justin Martyr, in the second Christian century, conceived and executed the plan of combining our four gospels into one continuous narrative. Similar subject-matter he introduced but once. Ordinarily when there were two variant versions, he adopted the fuller, or where each presented independent details he combined verses or parts of verses from one with similar selections from others. Sometimes parallel passages are introduced in sequence. Certain minor inconsistencies he eliminated, others he ignored. Sometimes he added a few words to bring the different narratives into harmony. Elsewhere he transposed verses and stories. Thus, for example, following the first three gospels, he transferred the Johannine account of the cleansing of the temple (Jn. 2^{13-16}) from the beginning of Jesus's ministry to his final visit to Jerusalem. Great care is exercised not to leave out any fresh material. Consequently two-thirds of the first three and all of the fourth gospel have been included. The result is an exceedingly complex, composite gospel.* If this work had succeeded in so completely supplanting the original four gospels that they had been completely lost, New Testament scholars would have been confronted by a precisely similar, although somewhat more difficult problem than that presented by the first seven books of the Old Testament.

* Cf. article on "Tatian's Diatessaron and the Analysis of the Pentateuch," by Professor G. F. Moore in *Journal of Bib. Lit.*, 1890, pp. 201-215; Carpenter and Harford Battersby, *Hexateuch*, I, 8-11; Hill, *The Earliest Life of Christ*, 1894; Hogg, *Ante-Nicene Christian Library*, 1897.

The problem of Old Testament analysis

Fortunately in the case of the Old Testament, the individual characteristics of the four originals are more marked, the amalgamation is not so close, the transpositions are not many, and more duplicate versions of the same incidents have been retained. Similar reverence for the written word and a corresponding desire to preserve everything which contained additional material explain why, after the analysis has been made, the four resulting narratives are each approximately complete. If they should be discovered in their original form, it is possible that they would add little to our present knowledge. Like the one-third of the synoptic gospels, which is omitted by Tatian, the remaining parts would probably be found to consist of exceedingly close parallels to the versions which have been retained.

Practical results of the analysis

Thus, as a result of the work of more than two centuries of biblical scholarship, we have to-day, instead of one, four parallel historical narratives in the Old, as well as in the New Testament. A modern history of the Hebrew people rests therefore not on one but four corner-stones. Variations and contradictions no longer produce doubt and alarm, when their true explanation is understood, any more than they do in the case of the four gospels. Above all, the critical historian is able to avail himself of the testimony of witnesses who lived many centuries before the completion of the books in which their writings are now embodied. When the analysis has disclosed the different narratives, they can be studied in their original literary simplicity and unity, free from the abrupt transitions and seeming inconsistencies which characterize them in their present form. Only when the older is distinguished from the later, it is possible intelligently and constructively to trace the marvellous unfolding of Israel's faith and of that noble moral and religious sense which made the Hebrews a race of prophets.

IV

CHARACTERISTICS, DATES, AND HISTORY OF THE DIFFERENT PROPHETIC AND PRIESTLY NARRATIVES

1. The Judean Prophetic Narratives

Origin of the name

THE oldest homogeneous narratives in the Old Testament are conventionally designated as the *Judean, Jehovistic prophetic.* They are called the *Judean* because their authors are especially interested in Judah and acquainted with the details of the tribal and local history of the southern kingdom; *Jehovistic,* because *Jehovah* is almost universally employed as the designation of the Deity; and *prophetic,* because the prevailing point of view and aim throughout are those of the earlier prophets. Of these three distinguishing designations, *Jehovistic* is perhaps the least exact, for the name *Jehovah* is prevailingly employed in the other narratives after the revelation to Moses, recorded in Exodus 3 (cf. § 61). For practical use the title *Judean prophetic narratives* is sufficiently distinctive and at the same time clearly intelligible.

Scope and contents

These narratives open with the brief account of the creation of man and of his temptation and fall in the garden of Eden (Gen. 2^{4b}-3^{24}). They then trace by means of distinct stories the beginning of human civilization and moral degeneracy, which in time make necessary the divine judgment and the new beginning inaugurated by the flood. These, with the popular traditions regarding the origin of the nations (Gen. 10, 11), serve as an introduction to the detailed stories of the patriarchs. Beginning in the first chapter of Exodus, the Judean narratives present concisely and graphically each important event in the life of the Hebrews in Egypt, in the wilderness, and finally in the land of Canaan. In the form of more or less closely connected stories, they thus furnish a complete history of Israel from the creation to at least the death of David. They are found in Genesis, Exodus, Numbers, Deuteronomy 34, Joshua, Judges, and Samuel-Kings (for details cf. *Table of Contents,* first column), and represent more than one-third of the total contents of these books.

Purpose

A comprehensive purpose runs through and binds together all the Judean prophetic stories: it is to trace from its remotest beginnings, and on its every side, the history of the covenant people of Jehovah. The historical motive is much more prominent than in the other groups of narratives. Everything which concerns the nation Israel, whether it be the primitive origin of the arts, or of its neighbors, or of its institutions, or the achievements of its champions, here finds a place. The oldest traditions in the possession of the race are incorporated, irrespective of their origin, provided they throw light upon Israel's early life,

and Jehovah's relation to his people. All classes and institutions, secular and ceremonial, are presented with equal impartiality; and events in the history of the northern kingdom are treated almost as fully as those of the southern. The point of view and purpose of the patriotic prophet are also revealed in that deep, broad religious philosophy of history which underlies and finds expression in many of the narratives. The opening stories are in reality the history of the origin and consequences of sin, as illustrated in the life of primitive man. The individual incidents and Israel's history, as it is presented in its entirety, unobtrusively, yet powerfully, proclaim those germinal truths regarding Jehovah's character and gracious rule which later teachers expounded by word of mouth. At certain critical points in the history are also introduced those inspired interpretations of the divine purpose being realized in it, which are peculiar to the prophets (cf. Gen. 3^{15}, 5^{29}, 8^{21}, $9^{25\text{-}27}$, $12^{2,\ 3}$, $18^{18,\ 19}$). Thus in a most effective manner the Judean narratives conserve the exalted aims of the patriotic historian and the devoted prophet.

Literary style

The literary style is singularly free and flowing. There is nothing of the repetitiousness and formality of the priest. The stories move on rapidly to the climax; the characters are sketched distinctly, but with a few strokes. Dialogues are frequent, and especially effective in presenting in concise, vivid form the salient elements of the story. The vocabulary is as picturesque and dramatic as the style. It is also large and diversified. Onomatopoetic words are constantly employed. Solemn plays upon words abound. Quotations from ancient songs are frequently introduced. The many expressions peculiar to this source, as, for example, "a land flowing with milk and honey," or "Jehovah's anger was kindled," are also exceedingly picturesque (cf. Appendix II. for words and expressions peculiar to the Judean narratives). The result is that many of the Judean stories are prose poems, unsurpassed in simple literary beauty by anything in the Old Testament.

General characteristics

Many general characteristics distinguish the Judean prophetic narratives. Thus, for example, they usually call the ancient inhabitants of Palestine *Canaanites,* the sacred mountain *Sinai,* and the traditional father of the twelve tribes, *Israel.* Great interest is also shown in the popular etymologies of the names of persons and places. On the other hand, little attention is paid to genealogy and chronology.

Conceptions of Jehovah

The religious conceptions are also equally distinctive. Jehovah is not portrayed merely as a Spirit, far removed from intimate contact with human affairs, but as a Being, who walks in the garden of Eden in the cool of the day (Gen. 3^{8}), who comes down to see with his eyes the tower of Babel (11^{5}), who goes to investigate personally the guilt of Sodom (18^{21}), who comes to deliver Israel from its bondage (Ex. 3^{8}), and who descends upon Mount Sinai to speak by word of mouth to his people ($19^{11,\ 18,\ 30}$, 34^{5}). Sometimes he reveals himself through his Messenger (Gen. 16^{7}, $24^{7,\ 10}$), or through the burning thorn bush (Ex. 3^{2}), or in the pillar of cloud and fire (13^{21}). The language is that of the in-

spired poet rather than of the theologian. Although the terms employed to describe the Deity are inherited from a primitive, naïve stage in human thought, the God therein described is full of majesty and dignity. He rules supreme over Egypt and Israel's neighbors as he did in the garden of Eden and at the flood. His purpose determines the history of the Edomites and Ishmaelites, as well as that of the Israelites. The ascription to him of human attributes only deepens the impression that he is a living, present personality to be loved and obeyed by the individual as well as by the covenant nation. The simplicity and naturalness of the theological conceptions of these early narratives are among the most fertile sources of their charm and dramatic beauty; and, after all, it is only through the study of man, the reflection and image of God, that it is possible to attain a definite conception of the Infinite, and to describe those divine attributes which appeal most strongly to the human heart. The authors of the later narratives in eliminating the anthropomorphisms gained something, but they divested their stories of that personal element which is one of the chief attractions of the older traditions.

Ethical standards

The conception of Jehovah's personal presence is the foundation of the ethical teachings of the Judean narratives. Right and wrong are not measured by conformity to abstract principles or specific laws; they depend upon whether the individual or nation has faithfully met the demands of the divine Friend and Patron. Ethics are thus placed upon a concrete, personal basis. Abraham, the friend of God, is the type of the ideal man, because he was responsive to every indication of Jehovah's will. Adam and Eve are opposite types, because they disobeyed, even though the sin inherent in the eating from the tree of knowledge was not apparent. To do Jehovah's will in thought and deed is the whole duty of man. Thus that direct personal relation between God and the individual which is central in the teachings of Jesus is first clearly expressed in the old Judean narratives.

Marks of early origin

Embodying as they do many very ancient traditions, it is surprising that their practices do not more often fall below the perfect Christian standards. The deceptions practised by Abraham in regard to his wife, the crafty devices of Jacob, and the robbery of the Egyptians (Ex. 12^{36}) cannot for a moment be justified; but they are only marks of the mould in which the stories were originally cast. So, also, the position of woman, concubinage, and the treatment of heathen foes are oriental survivals. That which is really characteristic is the genuine piety and the intense desire to do the will of God which dominates the representative actors in these primitive classics.

Attitude toward early religious institutions

While with the later prophets these narratives define religion as an attitude toward God to be made manifest by just and loving acts, they do not ignore religious forms and ceremonies. Worship and sacrifice are assumed to have existed at the very beginnings of human history (Gen. 4). Priests are also referred to in Exodus $19^{22,24}$; but they are not prominent. In keeping with early Hebrew usage, it is assumed that

any individual may offer sacrifice, although the local shrines were supposed to have their district priests (cf., *e. g.*, Judg. 17, 18, §§ 130, 131). While great interest is shown in the origin of secular institutions, comparatively little attention is devoted to the beginnings of ceremonial customs. The traditional origins of holy places, like Hebron and Beersheba, and of sacred objects, such as the altar at Bethel, are given in the stories associated with the patriarchs or else, if it be a later shrine, like that at Dan, in a detailed historical narrative.

Real character and origin

While all the Judean prophetic narratives are bound together by a large number of common characteristics, different stories betray different points of view and are often not entirely consistent with each other. Thus, for example, the narrative of Genesis 4^{16-24} knows nothing of the Judean story of the flood (§ 8), for it states that all nomads, musicians, and metal-workers were the direct descendants of the sons of the antediluvian Lamech (cf. note § 4). Some also reflect exceedingly primitive ideas and usages, while others in language and representation are related to the writings of a maturer age. These constantly recurring phenomena point to two facts: (1) that the stories in the Judean group were collected from many different places and originated in different periods. The spirit and breadth of those who put them in their present literary form led them to retain the peculiarities of the original oral tradition. (2) The Judean narratives were not (as has sometimes been claimed in the past) from one prophet, but rather from a school of prophets who worked with a common purpose, wrote from the same point of view, and probably from the same geographical centre, and influenced each other's literary style so powerfully that they all employed certain similar words and expressions. That they were all contemporaries or even lived during the same century cannot be maintained, although the bulk of their work was probably done during the same half century. This main body of narratives is called, for sake of distinction, the early Judean prophetic (technically represented simply by J), and the subsequent additions or supplements, the later Judean (technically represented by J^s or J^2, J^3 or J^b, J^c).

Place of composition

The evidence is conclusive that the other great collection of prophetic writings in the Old Testament came from the northern kingdom; but in the case of the first group the data are less obvious. Almost as much interest is shown in the history and sanctuaries of the North as of the South. On general principles, however, it is to be expected that these narratives, which constantly parallel and yet differ in form and details from those which can be traced to northern Israel, are from Judah. Outside tradition throws no light upon the question; but the internal evidence, on the whole, favors the conclusion adopted above. Thus, for example, great prominence is given to Abraham's sojourning at Hebron. In the Joseph stories it is Judah, not Reuben, who takes the lead and is represented as the first-born (Gen. 37^{26}, 43^3, $44^{16, 18}$, §§ 45, 52). In Genesis 49^{10-12} Judah is also assigned the position of leadership among the tribes. The strange tribal tale in Genesis 38 regarding

Judah would scarcely have been preserved except in the South. Numbers 24^{17} appears to contain an unmistakable reference to the rule and conquests of David. More significant still is the absence of any clear references to Joshua, the northern Israelitish leader, in the early Judean narratives. Caleb, the traditional ancestor of one of the leading tribes of the South takes his place in the story of the spies, although in the parallel northern Israelitish version Joshua is assigned the chief rôle (§ 90). In the books of Samuel the interest in the Judean kingdom and in the house of David becomes even more obvious. The authors, therefore, appear to have been patriotic Judean prophets, probably resident in Jerusalem, who wrote under the shadow of the sanctuary reared by Solomon.

Date of composition

From the nature of their origin it is impossible to determine the exact date of the narratives. They were of gradual growth. Their roots extended far back to the beginnings of Hebrew and early Semitic history. The approximate date, when the early Judean prophetic narratives were combined together in a connected writing, may, however, be ascertained from certain references which they contain. The general considerations which point to some period after the reign of David have already been noted (cf. p. 18). To this may be added the fact that not until the days of the united kingdom does the divine designation, *Jehovah,* begin to take the place of the older *El* (as, for example, Samu*el*) in proper names. The belief, reflected in the Judean narratives, that the name Jehovah was employed universally from the earliest times, would naturally not arise until still later. The statement in Genesis 36^{31}, *before any king ruled over the children of Israel,* obviously implies the existence of the Hebrew kingdom. The subjugation of the Canaanites, which was not complete until the days of Solomon (cf. I Kgs. $9^{20, 21}$), is assumed in many passages (*e. g.,* Gen. 15^{18}). The boundaries of the territory assigned to the Hebrews in Genesis 15^{18} are those of Solomon's empire (I Kgs. 4^{21}). The allusions to the friendly relations between the sons of Shem and Japheth in Genesis 9^{27} were probably suggested by the alliances between the Hebrews and the colonizing Phœnicians in the days of David and Solomon. Not until David conquered Edom did the allusions in Genesis 25^{23} and Numbers 24^{18} possess a definite meaning; and the reference in Genesis 27^{40} to Esau's shaking off the yoke of Jacob seems to be to the successful revolt of the Edomites in the middle of the ninth century B.C. The curse upon the one who should rebuild Jericho in Joshua 6^{26} also points to the same century, when Hiel the Bethelite *laid the foundation of Jericho with the loss of his first-born* (I Kgs. 16^{34}). The account of the relations between Jacob and Laban seems to reflect the protracted wars between the Hebrews and the Arameans in the days following the death of Solomon. The spirit of the Judean narratives, however, is that of the ancient monarchy. They reflect the old hostilities with the Edomites and Moabites. They give no indications of the suspicious attitude toward the high places and popular forms of worship which begins to

find expression in the sermons of Amos, Hosea, and Isaiah during the latter part of the eighth century B.C., and which in 621 B.C. led to the sweeping reformation of Josiah. The conceptions of Jehovah and of his demands are those of the century before Amos. Such passages as Amos $2^{9, 10}$, Hosea $12^{3, 4, 12, 13}$, 9^{10}, and Micah $6^{4, 5}$, contain references to the traditions recorded in the Judean narratives. Thus the evidence of history and later literature points to the century between 850 and 750 B.C. as their probable date. They suggest a period of comparative prosperity (cf. Gen. 15^{18}, Ex. 23^{31}), when the relations between the two Hebrew kingdoms were friendly. Such a period was that which followed the reformation inaugurated by Elijah and carried through in northern Israel by Elisha and Jehu about 842. Six years later a similar reformation was instituted in Judah which resulted in the overthrow of Athaliah, the daughter of Ahab and Jezebel, and the heathen cults which she fostered. Under the leadership of Jehoiada, the priest, and his *protégé,* the young king Joash, Israelitish and prophetic principles again gained the ascendency. It was probably under the inspiration of this reformation, that, about 825 B.C., the Judean prophets began their great task of writing that comprehensive history which was intended to enforce *the covenant then made between Jehovah and the king and the people, that they should be Jehovah's people* (2 Kgs. 11^{17}).

Later additions to the early Judean narratives

In order to understand its later history, it must be remembered that the main strand of the Judean narratives, when completed, did not possess the authority and sanctity which were attributed to them by later Judaism. The prophetic writings were not canonized until the fourth century B.C. For four centuries at least later prophets and editors were therefore at liberty to supplement and revise them as they thought best. It is probable that at first only one or, at the most, a very few copies were made (cf. the book of the covenant discovered in the days of Josiah II Kgs. 22^{8-10}, and the one copy of the first edition of Jeremiah's prophecies, Jer. 36). Additions would, therefore, readily gain equal acceptance with the original, especially if they were written in the same spirit and style. Divine revelation also did not cease, but ever became more complete, so that in reality the later possess authority equal to or greater than the earlier. As a matter of fact, many of the most deeply spiritual and helpful passages in the Old Testament are found in these additions.

The three types of additions

The contributions of the later Judean writers took three distinct forms. In the first place, they expanded certain passages by the addition of explanatory, geographical, or archæological notes. Thus the detailed statements regarding the river of Eden with its four branches in Genesis 2^{10-15} introduce an archæological motive which is foreign to the purpose of the original story (cf. § 2, note[g]). To this class probably belong the frequently recurring list of the early inhabitants of Canaan (Gen. 10^{15-18}, 15^{19-21}, Ex. $3^{8, 17}$, 13^{5}, $23^{23, 28}$, 33^{2}, 34^{11}, Josh. 3^{10}, 9^{1}, 11^{3}, 12^{8}, 24^{11}), and explanatory statements, as, for example, that

Kiriath-arba is identical with Hebron (Gen. 23^2, Judg. 1^{10}). The second type of additions includes the hortatory expansions which interrupt the sequence of thought in the early tradition and introduce a more spiritual teaching and a new form of expression. Illustrations of this type are Abraham's exhortations in behalf of Sodom in Genesis $18^{17-19, 22b-33a}$ (note § 20) and Moses's prayer in Exodus $34^{6, 7, 9b}$ (note § 78). The third class comprises the later supplemental narratives. Of this character is the story of the murder of Abel by Cain in Genesis 4, which is distinct from the older tradition where Cain is represented, not as the guilty outlaw, but as the father of those who developed the arts of civilization (note § 3). Another example is the story of Abram's deception regarding Sarai, his wife, at Pharaoh's court, in Genesis 12^9-13^4. The characters and setting are different, but the incident is the same, as is told in simpler terms regarding Isaac and Rebekah at the court of Abimelech king of Gerar in Genesis 26 (note § 13). From the same later age probably come the stories in Joshua, which, contrary to the representation of the early Judean narratives, make Joshua the leader of all the tribes in the initial conquests of Canaan (note § 106).

2. 3

It is obvious that these later additions came from different writers and periods. The language and spirit of the more important are those of the prophets of the eighth century B.C. It was probably under the inspiration of their teaching that the later revisers supplemented the earlier narratives. The prophetic account of the flood apparently reflects the renewed contact with the civilization of the Tigris-Euphrates valley, which resulted from the Assyrian conquest of Palestine during the same and the early part of the succeeding century (Appendix V.). The later Judean narratives may therefore be dated approximately between 750 and 650 B.C. Thus during the century and a half preceding the great trials and national upheavals which came to the Hebrew people, certain of their prophets were in divine providence collecting the records of their past that illustrated those everlasting principles which alone would guide the nation throughout the impending crises. Although their names are unknown and their methods very different, their aims and influence were the same as those of Amos, Hosea, and Isaiah, who presented their God-given messages to their contemporaries by the spoken address rather than by the pen.

Date of the additions

2. The Ephraimite Prophetic Narratives

The parallel homogeneous narratives are conventionally known as *the Elohistic prophetic,* the title *Elohistic* representing the fact that in all the stories antecedent to the account of the divine revelation to Moses, recorded in Exodus 3, the Deity is designated by the name *Elohim (God).* The same usage, however, appears in another group of narratives, and in the passages following Exodus 3 the name *Jehovah* is prevailingly used. The term *Elohistic,* therefore, is not entirely distinctive and is also subject to the additional objection of not being

Origin of the name

readily understood. A more fundamentally characteristic and felicitous designation is suggested by the fact that the interest in these narratives centres in the northern kingdom. Hebron is ignored, but the northern shrines, Bethel and Shechem, are especially prominent. In the Joseph stories Reuben, not Judah, is the leader. The Ephraimite hero, Joshua, is represented as the successor of Moses and the leader of all the tribes in the conquest of Canaan. In the hill country of Ephraim he assembles them for his farewell address (Josh. 24). Especial attention is also given to Joseph, the traditional ancestor of Ephraim, and to the Joseph tribes. By general consent these narratives are, therefore, traced to the northern kingdom. The name *Ephraim,* by which its greatest prophet, Hosea, constantly addressed northern Israel (Hos. 4^{17}, $5^{3,\ 5,\ 9,\ 11\text{-}14}$, 6^{4}, etc.), furnishes a distinctive and appropriate title for the stories which represent the activity and teachings of the early prophets of the north.

Scope and contents

The Ephraimite prophetic narratives open with the divine promise and covenant with Abraham in Genesis 15. Subsequent references (Gen. 20^{13}, Josh. 24^{2}) suggest that they originally began with the ancestry of the patriarch in Aram; but there is no evidence that, like the Judean, they included an introductory survey of universal history. Throughout the remainder of Genesis and succeeding books, probably even to the Elisha stories in II Kings, the Ephraimite strand runs parallel to the Judean (cf. *Table of Contents,* second column). Regarding the more important events each has its distinct version. When these are very similar, the Judean is usually quoted more fully, with the result that the Ephraimite account is often curtailed. Hence, of the four distinct groups of narratives in the Old Testament, this is by far the most fragmentary. It has, however, in addition to the parallels, many incidents peculiar to itself, such as the sacrifice of Isaac (Gen. 22, § 23), the making of the golden calf at Sinai (Ex. 32, § 78), and the appointment of the seventy elders (Num. $11^{16,\ 17,\ 25\text{-}30}$, § 82).

Purpose

In the Ephraimite narratives the didactic and religious motives are most prominent. Interest is focused on the ideal theocracy rather than on the nation. The history is concerned not so much with events as with the divinely chosen leaders who are instrumental in realizing God's purpose in the life of his people. The prophets and their work overshadow that of the secular rulers and the priests. Even Abraham and Moses are styled prophets, and Isaac, Jacob, and Joseph on the threshold of death are granted visions regarding the future of their descendants (Gen. 27, 48, 50^{25}). The victories and achievements of the theocratic people are attained not so much by human effort and natural means (as in the Judean), but by divine interposition. Their acts of apostasy, on the other hand, are punished by overwhelming disaster. The chief purpose which actuated the Ephraimite writers, therefore, appears to have been to show how, by submission to God's rule and to the counsels of his theocratic representatives, the prophets, Israel in the past enjoyed peace, prosperity, and, above all, the happy

assurance of divine favor, and that, when they rebelled, disaster speedily overtook them. The whole is an instructive retrospect, of which the farewell address of Joshua, in Joshua 24, is a worthy epitome. It is also a prophetic retrospect with an intensely practical application to the present and the future.

General characteristics

While the analogies between the two groups of narratives, both of which came from schools of prophets not far removed from each other in place and time, and which utilize common traditions, are many and close, yet the characteristic points of difference are none the less striking. In the Ephraimite, *Horeb* or *the mountain* is used instead of *Sinai, Amorites* instead of *Canaanites,* and *Jacob* instead of *Israel.* (For linguistic peculiarities, cf. Table of Words and Expressions Peculiar to the Different Narratives, Appendix II.)

Conceptions of the Deity

The picturesque anthropomorphisms of the Judean narratives are almost entirely absent; instead God reveals himself usually in dreams or through his angelic Messenger. The visit of the Deity to the tent of Abraham and the story of the wrestling at Penuel are wanting. Only to the great prophet Moses does he reveal himself face to face (Ex. 33^{11}). Ordinarily his Messenger goes before to lead the host of Israel (Ex. 14^{19}). In the thick darkness of the mountain, and later, when he descends in the pillar of cloud at the entrance of the tent of meeting, God delivers his commands directly to his people. From the first, and ever more prominently, his prophetic spokesmen stand before the nation as the recipients of his messages and as his heralds to the people.

Progressive revelation

The Ephraimite prophets proclaim the fact that divine revelation in the past was progressive, corresponding to the awakening consciousness of those who received it. In distinction from the Judean historians, who assume that Jehovah was worshipped long before the flood (Gen. 4^{26}), they state repeatedly that the ancestors of the Hebrews were idolaters in Aram (*e. g.,* Josh. 24^{2}), and even report that Rachel stole her father's family idols to bear them to her new home (Gen. 31^{19}). Abraham, however, is represented as the worshipper of the one God, whose prophet he is (Gen. 20^{7}). Conforming to the divine command, Jacob directed his household to put away the foreign gods that were among them (35^{2}), as he returned to Bethel, the scene of God's former revelation to him. The final stage in the revelation is recorded in Exodus 3^{15}, where God makes himself known to Moses as Jehovah.

Ethical standards

Their more spiritual and, on the whole, more exalted conceptions of the Deity, led the Ephraimite writers to purge the ancient stories of everything which reflected unfavorably upon the characters of their prophetic heroes. Thus, for example, Abraham does not expel Hagar until he receives a divine command to do so (Gen. 21^{12}); in the story of the deception regarding the wife, Abraham does not utter a falsehood, because Sarah *is indeed his sister;* and God's intervention, not Jacob's questionable shrewdness, gives the patriarch success in his contest with Laban.

These evidences of more advanced ethical standards and maturer

Date of composition

conceptions of the divine character and methods of revelation point clearly to a somewhat later date than the Judean narratives. The old, naïve, poetic forms of expression have begun to disappear as the result of theological reflection. Half a century or a century of progressive revelation lies between the two main prophetic narratives. The language, the deep spirituality, the peculiar attitude toward the monarchy, and the evangelical purpose which characterize the Ephraimite, are shared in common with Amos and Hosea. The period in which they were written appears to have been one of national prosperity. The dreams of Joseph, the *Blessing of Moses* in Deuteronomy 33, and the predictions of Balaam in Numbers 23, reflect the victories of Israel and the exalted rule of the house of Joseph. These national expectations were realized as never before or after in the long, prosperous reign of Jeroboam II. (781-740 B.C.). The covenant between Jacob and Laban reflects the peace between northern Israel and her fallen foe, Aram, which was first firmly established during the earlier part of that reign. The holy places, such as Bethel and Shechem, and the sacred pillars (*e. g.*, §§ 31, 42) are still regarded as legitimate, but stories, like that of the golden calf in Exodus 32, indicate that the representation of the Deity by images was already condemned. Thus all the data point to the middle of the eighth century B.C. as the period in which the main collection of northern Israel's traditions (technically designated as E) was made.

Later additions

Like the Judean, the Ephraimite narratives are clearly not all from one writer or age. The influences which gave rise to the first collection continued to operate during the next century. The northern kingdom fell in 722 B.C. before Assyria, so that the work of revising and supplementing the Ephraimite narratives seems to have fallen to the prophets of the south. The character of the additions (which are technically represented by E^s or E^2, E^3) favors this conclusion. Less sympathy is shown with the sanctuaries of the north, and the prophetic gift is extended and given still greater prominence (cf. Num. 11, 12, §§ 82, 83). It is impossible to date the later Ephraimite sections with assurance. They probably come from the first half of the seventh century, when the prophets, suppressed in public, worked in private, preparing the way for the reformation of Josiah, which reinstated them and the prophetic teachings regarding Jehovah.

Union of the Judean and Ephraimite prophetic narratives

To the same school of prophets is probably due the close fusion of the two great prophetic groups of narratives. The combination may be traced to the fact that after the fall of northern Israel its traditions, like the prophecy of the Ephraimite, Hosea, became the possession of the southern prophets. The religious value of the Ephraimite narratives was recognized, but the variations from the Judean hindered their practical use. The motive in combining the two was doubtless the same as that which influenced Tatian to unite the four gospels. The books of Chronicles present a somewhat similar example of the fusion of an older written source (Sam.-Kgs.) with later versions of the same

traditions (cf. vol. II. *in loco*). Whether the combination was made at one time and by one hand or gradually cannot be definitely determined. From the finished product it is, however, possible to ascertain the process to which in the providence of God is due the preservation in their original language of the oldest literary records in the Old Testament.

Fusion of two parallel versions

Ordinarily, if the versions are closely parallel, they are amalgamated, passages being taken in turn from each and combined, as in Tatian's *Diatessaron,* so as to give a connected, continuous narrative, containing all the known facts. Only identical statements or those which were glaringly contradictory were omitted. Usually the Judean is followed more closely, as might be anticipated, since the editor or editors lived in the South, but there were many exceptions to this rule, especially when the Ephraimite version was fuller or illustrated some important religious teaching. The surprising fact is that, when a composite story has been analyzed, the two resulting versions are usually nearly complete. The relative completeness of each of the great groups of narratives also shows clearly that those who combined them felt a deep reverence for their subject-matter and were eager that nothing of real value should be lost. Illustrations of this type of union are the blessing of Jacob and his departure for Aram, § 30, or Joseph's disclosure of his identity, § 53. In combining, the editor sometimes uses one name of the Deity, where the language and ideas indicate that the source from which the quotation was taken employed the other. At other times he epitomizes the original story, or else adds a few words for the purpose of harmonizing the two versions.

Substitutions and transpositions

Sometimes the editor introduces but one of two original accounts and ignores the other. Thus the Ephraimite account of Abraham's migration from Aram, referred to in Genesis 20^{13}, is set aside in favor of the Judean version in 12^{1-4a}. In other cases two parallels are given entirely different settings, as, for example, the two accounts of the expulsion of Hagar in Genesis 16 and 21, or of Moses's smiting of the rock at Meribah in Exodus 17^{1-7} and Numbers 20 (§ 88). Also in the process of combination, verses, and even sections, were sometimes transposed or assigned to a different position in harmony with the editor's conception of the order of events.

Date of the fusion

The evidence is not conclusive, but it favors the probability that the author of the introductions to the book of Deuteronomy was acquainted with the Judean and Ephraimite narratives in their combined form. Other indications suggest that the work of writing them was certainly complete before the Babylonian exile. It appears to have been a part of that signal prophetic and literary activity which centred about the reformation of Josiah. It may, therefore, be dated between 650 and 621 B.C. Probably not at once, but before long it largely superseded the originally independent versions of the Judean and Ephraimite narratives (cf., however, p. 46).

3. The Late Prophetic or Deuteronomic Narratives

Characteristics and date

It is now generally recognized that from the same period came the reformulation and readaptation of Israel's laws to new conditions, which constitute the body of the book of Deuteronomy (cf. vol. IV., Introd.). This appears to have included Deuteronomy 5-26, 28^{1-46}. Chapters 5-11 contain a hortatory introduction to the laws which follow. The superscription to this original book of the covenant, which was probably substantially identical with the law book found in the temple and accepted by Josiah in behalf of the people, is found in $4^{45, 46}$. The retrospect of the experiences of the Israelites in their journeying from Horeb to the plains of Moab in 1^{6}-3^{29} is the logical, if not the original sequel of the account of the sin at Horeb in 9^{25}-10^{11}. The language indicates that this retrospect is from the same school of writers as the rest of Deuteronomy, but there are fundamental differences in the representation regarding the history, which indicate that they cannot be from the same author or date (cf., *e. g.*, $1^{35, 36}$, 2^{14-16} with 5^{2}, $11^{2, 7}$). They are based upon the prophetic narratives in Exodus and Numbers, the Ephraimite being followed almost exclusively. Their exact date and origin is still in doubt. Their connection with the rest of Deuteronomy, as has been noted, is not close. The retrospect appears to be a product of that late prophetic motive which produced the similar reviews found in the later Ephraimite narratives (cf. p. 40). It may be dated approximately about 550 B.C., when in the enforced leisure of the Babylonian exile the religious teachers of the Israelitish race drew from their past history those lessons and messages of encouragement which guided them through doubts and temptations to the destiny awaiting them.

Deuteronomic or late prophetic editorial activity

To the same school of writers are due many additions to the combined Judean-Ephraimite history. In Genesis, Exodus, and Numbers these consist simply of occasional verses. The great work of this Deuteronomic or late prophetic school was the union of Deuteronomy with the older prophetic narratives which we now find in the preceding books. It was a part of the greater task of collecting, arranging, and combining the earlier writings of their race which commanded the attention of a devoted body of prophets during the Babylonian exile. Since they constantly employ the expressions and emphasize the ideas peculiar to Deuteronomy, they are technically called the *Deuteronomic* editors (and are represented by R^{d}). The designation *late prophetic* distinguishes their work from that of the early and later Judean and Ephraimite writers.

In Joshua and Judges

The present arrangement of Joshua, Judges, and Samuel-Kings is chiefly due to them. The introduction in Joshua 1 and the *résumés* (*e. g.*, in 12) are from a late prophetic editor, as well as many explanatory and hortatory passages scattered throughout the first part of the book. In Judges the late prophetic introduction to the Deuteronomic edition of that book is found in 2^{6}-3^{6}. The framework, into which the

older stories of Israel's champions are fitted, is also from the same editor. The work of these late prophetic writers, who, like the Ephraimite, were interested, not in the monarchy nor in Israel's history as such, but in the realization of the ideal theocracy in which Jehovah's will should rule supreme, is also traceable throughout Samuel-Kings.

4. The Late Priestly Narratives

Origin of the name

The intense and fruitful activity of the prophets during the exile was equalled by that of the priests. For the majority of those whose ancestors were carried to Babylon the exile did not end until Nehemiah by his devoted patriotism rebuilt the walls of Jerusalem and fundamentally reconstructed the Jewish community in Palestine, making possible the great reformation of 400 B.C., like that of Josiah two centuries before, sealed by the solemn acceptance of the regulations laid down in the new law book. That new law book, brought by Ezra from Babylonia, represented the adaptation of the older institutions, traceable to the age of Moses, to the entirely new conditions and conceptions introduced by the Babylonian exile (cf. vol. IV., Introd.). Like the authors of the Deuteronomic code, they also in time provided it with an historical introduction, which gave the traditional setting of the laws as a whole and their conceptions of the origin of the priestly institutions. The simple designation *priestly narratives* (technically represented by P) distinguishes these from the earlier prophetic.

Scope and contents

The priestly history begins with the later account of the creation (Gen. 1^{1}-2^{4a}) which in turn gives the traditional origin of the institution of the sabbath. This is connected by means of the genealogical list in Genesis 5 with the priestly version of the flood-story, which introduces the new covenant symbolized by the rainbow (9^{1-17}). The patriarchal history is told in bare outlines, the narrative is expanded to give the detailed account of the covenant with Abraham, which in turn represented the traditional origin of the institution of circumcision (Gen. 17). The brief record of the oppression in Egypt culminates in the revelation to Moses of the divine name, Jehovah, recounted in Exodus 6. The wonders whereby Jehovah convinced Pharaoh of his omnipotence and the miraculous deliverance from Egypt are presented in a homogeneous, continuous narrative. The zenith of the priestly history is reached in the revelation at Sinai which furnishes the setting for all the priestly laws found in Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers. In the brief outline of the wilderness wandering, and therefore associated with Moses, is given the priestly origin of certain institutions, such as the law of the distribution of the spoils of war (Num. 31). The conclusion of the priestly narratives is found in the second half of Joshua and tells in detail of the conquest and allotment of the land of Canaan among the Hebrew tribes. Beyond that point the original priestly narratives did not go. Only rare cases of priestly editorial activity can be discovered in the subsequent books. From the same

general point of view, but from a still later date, the books of Chronicles carry on the history of the priestly institutions.

Purpose

Poetry, thrilling narratives, and national achievement have no attractions for the priestly narrators. The monarchy of the Judean and the ideal theocracy of the Ephraimite prophets had each yielded their place to the hierocracy, which, in the days of Ezra and later, ceased to be a dream and became a reality. The chief purpose of the priestly writers was to trace the origin of the institutions that constituted the corner-stones of that hierocracy which they regarded, in common with later Judaism, as the goal and complete fulfilment of the divine purpose.

Variations in representation due to the Jewish, priestly point of view

The commanding personality of Moses, great in reality and so represented in the oldest prophetic narratives, assumes in the priestly still more Titanic proportions and overshadows all antiquity. Abraham, Joseph, and Joshua are insignificant beside him. With the exception of the sabbath and circumcision, all of Israel's laws and institutions, from the earliest to the latest, are traced directly to him. Viewed through the medium of the seven or eight intervening centuries, events, as well as the actors, in that primitive period are magnified. A detailed comparison between the older and later versions of the same traditions shows that in many cases the simple, natural representation of the earlier narratives has been replaced by a story abounding in the supernatural. The numbers mount from hundreds to thousands; thus, for example, instead of the constant sense of want, which characterizes the oldest stories regarding the wilderness period, the Israelites are required to offer at each passover two hundred thousand male lambs of the first year. It is needless to multiply examples. The exaggerations and inconsistencies, which are characteristic of these narrations, have often been held up for derision by hostile critics of the Bible. To deny their existence is as futile as it is unnecessary, when their real place in the literary history of the Old Testament is understood. The Babylonian exile severed the vital connection with Israel's past. At the same time the harsh, unnatural conditions amidst which the Jews found themselves led them, unconsciously and inevitably to idealize that past. They projected their ambitions and aspirations backward as well as forward. Like the author of the books of Chronicles, they also soon believed in all sincerity that the ceremonial institutions, which in their own day they cherished so dearly, originated at the beginning of their national history; although, if they had read their earlier records carefully, they would have been confronted with a vast array of proof that their customs and laws had unfolded gradually. Like most of the teachers of later Judaism, they were not, however, critical historians, but devoted lovers of the law and ritual. The traditions current in their day appealed to them far more strongly and were held to be more authoritative than the ancient prophetic narratives. The charge which Jesus brought against the apostles of the legalism in his day was that they treasured the traditions of the fathers above the law of Moses. The

exaggerations and inconsistencies, therefore, are but the natural result of the wide difference in time and point of view between the pre-exilic prophets and the post-exilic priests.

General characteristics

Many other equally striking characteristics are clearly discernible, so that it is usually possible almost at a glance to distinguish the priestly sections. In contrast to the vivid, flowing style of the prophetic narratives, the language is formal, exact, and repetitious. Certain juristic formulas frequently recur, as is well illustrated by the first and fifth chapters of Genesis, where more than one-fourth of the verses are practical repetitions. The vocabulary is not large and contains a great number of characteristic words, which are constantly employed (cf. Table of Words and Expressions Peculiar to the Different Narratives, Appendix II.). Before the revelation to Moses, recorded in Exodus $6^{2, 3}$, *Elohim (God)* is consistently used as the name of the Deity, but afterward *Jehovah (Yahweh)*. *Sinai* is the designation of the sacred mount. Great interest is shown in details and statistics. They contain a carefully worked out system of chronology and date each important event. Long genealogical tables abound. Attention is also centred upon the prerogatives and duties of the Aaronic priests, who, as in the post-exilic Jewish state, take the place of the secular leaders in the Judean and of the prophets in the Ephraimite narratives. The later distinction—which is unknown to the early prophetic sources—between the priests, the sons of Aaron, and the Levites is carefully maintained.

Theological conceptions

Still more fundamentally characteristic of the priestly narratives is their conception of the Deity. The primitive anthropomorphic expressions are carefully avoided, for the fact that God is a spirit is never forgotten by these later Jewish theologians. At Sinai his glory, the reflection and symbol of his complete personality, appears; but it is veiled in a cloud and surrounded by impenetrable mystery (Ex. 16^{10}, Num. $9^{15\text{-}17}$). God is also conceived of as the omnipotent Ruler of the universe, whose fiat, as at the creation, is executed as soon as it is uttered. So prominent is this idea of Jehovah's omnipotence that the natural, mediating processes by which he ordinarily accomplishes his ends are almost entirely ignored. This fact, doubtless, in part explains why the supernatural figures so prominently in the priestly versions of Israel's traditions. The majestic doctrines of the priestly theologians sometimes led them far afield from the paths of reality marked out by the prophetic historians.

Ethical standards

The inevitable tendency to idealize the early saints also led them to omit all references to their moral delinquencies. Jacob does not flee as a fugitive from the consequences of his own deceptions, but in response to the demands of filial piety departs in peace with his father's blessing to seek a wife in Aram (Gen. $28^{1\text{-}9}$, § 30). Of the apostasy of the Israelites at Sinai in connection with the golden calf the priestly narratives say nothing. Even the sin of Moses at Meribah has been so obscured that it is impossible to determine its character (§ 88). Thus at every point their advanced moral standards are revealed.

Origin and history

The basis of the priestly is the early Judean narratives. A comparison of the different versions of the individual stories discloses in almost every case close parallels between these and wide variations from the Ephraimite, which in turn are followed by the late prophetic. It was perfectly natural that the later Jewish writers should follow the southern traditions rather than the northern. Moreover, the prominence accredited to the prophets in the Ephraimite narratives was antithetic to the priestly point of view. Like the author of the Fourth Gospel, who assumes the facts presented in the first three, the priestly narrators appear to have taken it for granted that their readers were acquainted with the Judean history. In a few instances they record traditions which are unknown to the earlier sources. As illustrations might be cited the purchase of the cave of Machpelah (Gen. 23, § 25), and the war against Midian (Num. 31, § 101). In some cases their character and contents favor the conclusion that they originated in late priestly circles and that their purpose was to give traditional authority to a given institution, as, for example, the later distinction between the Aaronic priesthood and the Levites (Num. 16); but there is also reason for believing that the priestly narrators sometimes preserve very old traditions.

Place of composition

The records of the Jewish community in Palestine after the rebuilding of the second temple in 516 B.C. contain no references to the writing or existence of the priestly narratives until after the appearance of Nehemiah and Ezra. Haggai, Zechariah, and the author of Malachi appeal to the Deuteronomic code as the standard recognized by their contemporaries. The great reformation under the leadership of Nehemiah and Ezra, however, was in keeping with the enactments of the priestly code. Subsequent to that event they were regnant in Palestine. The testimony of the history and the implication of the narrative in Ezra-Nehemiah which records the reformation are that the new code, and therefore its historical introduction and setting, were prepared by the Jews of Babylon. This conclusion is confirmed not only by the fact that after 586 B.C. the most intelligent leaders of the Jewish race were to be found in exile, but also by the character of many of the laws and of that extreme, ceremonial type of religion which later Judaism shared with the Babylonians. Certain stories, as, for example, that of the creation and flood, are also strikingly similar, especially in details, to those which we now know from the testimony of the monuments were current among the Assyrians and Babylonians, while the Jewish exiles were resident in the Tigris-Euphrates valley. The many variations from the older biblical versions of the same traditions are most naturally explained as the result of contact with Babylonian ideas. The historical outlook, as illustrated by the priestly sections of Genesis 10, is extended to include the lands of the dispersion. The tendency to idealize the early history is also another of the many indications that the priests who committed these traditions to writing lived apart from the direct current of Israel's national life and amidst the peculiar en-

vironment from which Nehemiah and Ezra emerged to bring the new law to Palestine.

Date of composition

Traces of slightly different points of view and phraseology indicate that the priestly narratives are also from a school of writers who wrote at different dates. The story of Korah in Numbers 16 is a good illustration of a narrative current in two distinct versions within the same priestly circles, the one version emphasizing the distinction between the priesthood and laity, the other between the Aaronic priesthood and the Levites (§ 93). The main narrative, which furnishes the continuous history of the priest-nation is probably all from the same date. It may be assumed that the historical introduction is later than the specific laws which it introduces. It appears that the laws themselves were a gradual growth, slowly assuming their final form in the two centuries antedating 400 B.C. (cf. vol. IV., Introd.). The half century between 450 and 400 B.C. may, therefore, be accepted as the approximate date when the majority of the priestly stories were collected and united; although it is obvious, as in the case of the other groups, that many individual traditions come from much earlier periods. Additions and minor emendations appear to have been made for a century longer, until the canon of the law gradually assumed its fixed and final form.

Combination of the prophetic and priestly narratives

The last act in the long process, which has given us the first eight books of the Old Testament in substantially their present order and form, was accomplished by one or more of those later editors, whose work is ordinarily decried, but to whom we doubtless owe the preservation of the older traditions. It consisted in uniting the already combined prophetic narratives with the priestly. Since it was done some time—probably not long—after the reformation of 400 B.C., the one who amalgamated them was most interested in the priestly. This is clearly shown by the fact that these narratives are preserved practically in their integrity. Their order of events also determines in general the present arrangement of the Old Testament stories. Fortunately it was based in turn upon that of the Judean. Where there was no priestly parallel, the older order was doubtless followed. References in the prophetic narratives to traditions no longer extant indicate that at this time or earlier some were omitted. Thus the complete priestly story of the creation probably takes the place of the Judean version, of which only a fragment remains in Genesis 2^{4b-9}. Ordinarily, however, the priestly narratives furnished simply an outline of events into which it was easy to fit the more detailed prophetic stories. This latest, and in many ways most important, editor also manifests a strong desire, like his predecessors, to retain all his subject-matter. Sometimes he amalgamates two versions, as, for example, those of the flood, apparently omitting almost nothing of either (§ 8); at other times he introduces the two variant versions in sequence or gives them different settings, unintentionally or purposely ignoring the fact that they are duplicate accounts of the same events.

The canonization of the law, which included the first five books

Final canonization

of the Old Testament, appears to have taken place during the century following Nehemiah's great work, and therefore probably soon after the final union of the prophetic and priestly narratives. The canon of the prophets, which included Joshua and Judges, was complete before the close of another century. In the light of the few facts that are known and of New Testament analogies it would seem that this canonization was gradual. Until it was completed the process of minor editorial revision and expansion appears to have continued. By 200 B.C., however, and probably earlier, the first eight books of the Bible were to be found in their present form.

Conclusion

This brief survey of the growth of these Old Testament books has aimed to present the modern positive conclusions regarding their origin. It is obvious that the difference between the traditional and the modern view simply concerns the details of a process. Both recognize that the Bible is the supreme record of God's revelation to the human heart, and that its ultimate value consists in its ability to meet the moral and religious needs of mankind. Both appreciate the divinely gifted personality and far-reaching influence of the great prophet-leader, Moses. The older held, however, that the Pentateuch took form within a generation and was the work of one man; the modern view is that it is the gradual growth of nine or ten centuries and represents the work of many divinely inspired teachers. The one is the theory of the later Jewish rabbis, adopted and expanded by the church fathers and crystallized in the creeds of many Christian churches; the other is a systematic attempt to formulate and explain the hundreds of significant facts contained in the individual books and presented by Israelitish and cognate history. Instead of being antithetic, the latter is but the logical sequel to the former. Both are based on known data. As new and important facts were discovered in the light of broader and closer study and in contemporary monumental literature, it became necessary to expand and modify the old; the result is the new—conjectural at certain points and ever subject to revision as more facts are disclosed, but a practical, helpful working basis for the intelligent study of Israel's priceless records.

THE HISTORY OF ISRAEL'S HISTORICAL AND BIOGRAPHICAL NARRATIVES

I

THE ORIGIN AND PRESENT LITERARY FORM OF THE OLD TESTAMENT HISTORICAL AND BIOGRAPHICAL NARRATIVES

The beginnings of Israel's national history

Israel's national and literary history begins with the establishment of the Hebrew monarchy under Saul. Up to this time the only records of the past appear to have been disconnected popular traditions, recounted beside the camp fire, in the secret of the harem, at marriage feasts, at the local sanctuaries, during the annual feasts, at the wells, or beside the city gates, wherever men or women were gathered together and the story-teller could find an audience (cf. Vol. I, p. 13). These early stories, many of which are found in the first eight books of the Old Testament, undoubtedly preserve a great number of significant historical facts, but they do not constitute a national history, for the oldest and most authentic stories originated before the Israelitish tribes had yet crystallized into a nation, and the narratives furnish only occasional pictures of the more important acts and actors in that great drama which later unfolded on the soil of Palestine. They represent rather the prologue to the subsequent history, since they record the movements of the nomadic ancestors of the Hebrews and the early struggles of the individual tribes to secure and maintain possession of the much-contested land of Canaan. Through these varied traditions the historian is able to trace in outline at least the beginnings of Hebrew history.

Conditions favorable for the writing of history

Before there can be a history in the generally accepted sense of that term, there must be historians possessed of the facilities for recording their facts and events worthy of record and calculated to inspire them to write. In ancient Israel these two conditions were first met and then fully supplied during the brilliant reigns of David and Solomon. The assimilation of the highly developed civilization of the Canaanites and the diplomatic and commercial relations with other centres of literary culture, such as Egypt, Phœnicia, and Damascus, gave the Hebrew historians their system of writing and also precedents to follow. From the days of David recorders and scribes figure among the court officials. The dramatic, epoch-making events of the reigns of Saul and David gave them themes well worthy of the pen of patriotic historians. The national pride, and splendor, and comparative peace of the reign of Solomon also afforded them the atmosphere and opportunity which undoubtedly gave rise to the earliest Hebrew historical records.

Literary form of the earliest records

These were either very brief annals of important events, such as the successions of kings, wars, building enterprises, treaties, and alliances, or else oral traditions which recounted the deeds of important religious or military leaders, like Samuel and Saul and David. Both of these very different types of sources underlie the narrative of Samuel and Kings. As the history unfolded, the tendency became marked to weave these various sources into a continuous narrative. Naturally, later historians would also further supplement the older records with current traditions regarding the earlier period. Thus it is that the narratives of Samuel and Kings have all the literary characteristics—absence of technical details, the few characters, the striking contrasts, the vividness, and the dramatic action—of the primitive traditions regarding the beginnings of Hebrew life. The story of David's family history, for example, is presented in II Samuel 9–20 in a literary form that suggests the great tragedies of Greece. The dramatic dialogue is also effectively employed, as in the more primitive traditions, to make the history realistic. The result is that the characters live and move and speak before the awakened imagination of the reader.

The introduction of sermons and addresses

When the Hebrew prophets became preachers and statesmen, swaying public opinion by the power of their voice and by the divine messages which they proclaimed in the form of public addresses, the historians also introduced sermons and long orations into their narratives. This literary form is common to all literature. Mark Antony's famous address in Shakespeare's *Julius Cæsar* is perhaps the most familiar modern example. This effective form of narration was in Hebrew literature but the natural outgrowth of the ancient oracle, as for example Jacob's blessing in Genesis 49, and of the dialogue. It appears first and most prominently in the writings of the later Ephraimite school, which bore the stamp of Hosea's strong, inspiring personality, and was still further developed by its Judean heir, the late prophetic or Deuteronomic school (cf. Vol. I, Introd., pp. 37–42). The most striking examples in the opening books of the Old Testament are the farewell addresses of Moses in Deuteronomy and Joshua in Joshua 23 and 24. In Samuel and Kings there are also many examples: Samuel's long sermons in I Samuel 8 and 12, Nathan's in II Samuel 7, Solomon's speech at the dedication of the temple in I Kings 8, and Ahijah's warnings in 11^{31-39} and 14^{7-16}. In each case the language and ideas indicate that these are from the later schools of writers. In the didactic stories in Chronicles, which are based on the earlier narratives of Samuel and Kings, these hortatory addresses are still more common. They are in fact the favorite literary form of the later Jewish writers, as is shown by the long prayers in Ezra 9 and Nehemiah 9, and even by the speeches attributed to Judas and his fellow-leaders in the more strictly historical books of I and II Maccabees.

Prominence of personal biographies

Israel's historians were always more interested in individual men than in movements. Since their chief sources were also current traditions regarding popular heroes, the texture of their histories largely consists of personal biographies, which they have woven together into a larger whole. Remove from the historical books the biographies of Samuel, Saul, David, Solomon, Jeroboam, Ahab, Elijah, Elisha, Jehu, Hezekiah, Isaiah, Jere-

miah, Nehemiah, and Ezra, and little besides bare statistics and the record of three or four important events in the history of the temple remain. It is this prominent personal element that constitutes the chief charm of the narratives; while their vital touch with actual men and real life is the main source of their permanent and practical value.

Dominant aim not historical but religious

The prominence of the biographical element is likewise due to the fact that the authors of the so-called historical books were not primarily historians, but rather religious teachers seeking apt and familiar illustrations of the spiritual truths which impelled them to write. From Israel's history as a whole they drew many valuable lessons, but even more from the life of a hero like David, or of an intrepid champion of righteousness like Elijah. Hence the Old Testament records lack historic proportion. David's final epoch-making victory over the Philistines is only meagrely described, while to his private family history many chapters are devoted. Omri's important reign is dismissed with a few verses, while four chapters are given to describing the work of the Tishbite prophet. This fact is the basis of the common assertion that there is strictly speaking no real history in Hebrew literature until we reach the Maccabean period. The books which are designated as historical are either collections of historical illustrations, which enforce prophetic principles, or else traditions regarding the temple and the origin of its later ceremonial institutions.

Indications that the earlier historical books consist chiefly of quotations

The amount of authentic data which such books as Samuel, Kings, and Ezra-Nehemiah contain at once place them in the first rank among the historical records coming from antiquity, but the historical facts are nevertheless incidental, although for this reason none the less valuable. It is exceedingly important, therefore, always to remember the higher ethical and religious purpose which determined the form and contents of these books. This, as well as the fact that they consist largely of quotations from earlier works, explains their lack of unity and the presence of occasional contradictions. These are but the guide-posts which point the way back to the original sources and make it possible to trace the complex literary history of these composite books and thus to do the work of reconstruction which is necessary, before they can be fully appreciated as literature, as history, and above all as illustrations of those eternal principles which regulate the life of nations and men.

History of the books of Samuel and Kings

The fact that the aim of Samuel and Kings was primarily prophetic rather than historical was recognized by the Jews who formed the Old Testament canon, for they classified them, together with Joshua and Judges, as *The Former Prophets*. In reality the two books of Samuel, together with those of Kings, constitute one continuous narrative, bound together by closest bonds. The Greek translators so treated them, calling them the *Books of the Kingdoms*, dividing them into their present divisions. Jerome gave them the title of *Kings*, and in the case of the second two he has been followed by the English translators, while the first two retain their Hebrew title.

Contents of I and II Samuel

The books of Samuel trace the history of the Hebrews from the latter part of the period of the Judges to the accession of Solomon, and therefore represent approximately one century. In the present form they consist of

five general divisions: (1) Samuel and Saul narratives, I Samuel 1–15; (2) stories regarding the rise of David and the decline and death of Saul, 16–31; (3) the account of David's rule first over Judah and then over all Israel, II Samuel 1–8; (4) David's family history, 9–20; (5) an appendix, 21–24.

Principle of arrangement in I Samuel

In I Samuel the principle of arrangement is in general chronological. In 1–15, however, two very different portraits of Samuel are given: in the one (9, 10) he is the local seer of Ramah, who finds Saul and encourages him to become king, but in the other (7, 8, 12), the prophet-judge, who protestingly at the demand of the people turns over the supreme authority to their first king. In the one also (13, 14), the Philistines are defeated by Saul in a fierce engagement, but in the other (7) they are miraculously smitten in response to Samuel's prayer. The duplicate versions in 16–31 of certain of the more important incidents also indicate that the book is composite throughout, and that its literary unity and chronological arrangement are due to the careful work of the editor.

In II Samuel

In II Samuel the material is grouped according to subject matter. In 1–8 the most important political events in David's reign are briefly outlined, beginning with his accession to the throne of Judah and concluding with a summary of his foreign wars. The events recounted in 9–20 are in part contemporary with those recorded in 1–8, but they trace the series of crimes in his family and court which so sadly dimmed the lustre of his reign. Their natural and probably original sequel is found in I Kings 1 and 2. The last division contains a heterogeneous group of narratives, which were evidently taken from various sources, and probably added to the original book of Samuel after it was separated from Kings. It includes an account of the fate of Saul's sons (21^{1-14}), which is closely related in theme to 9, a description of the exploits of David's heroes, 21^{15-22}, 23^{8-39}, into the midst of which at a comparatively late date Psalm 18 and David's traditional "Last Words" were introduced, and finally the record of a census, which appears to belong to the period of David's foreign wars. In the character of its contents, and in their relation to the narratives in the rest of the book this appendix closely resembles that found at the end of Judges (17–20). Unlike Judges and Kings, the books of Samuel have received few editorial additions. Aside from a few chronological notes, the earlier material has simply been grouped without being fitted into an editorial framework.

Contents of the books of Kings

In the books of Kings the work of the editor is much more prominent. Beginning with the accession of Solomon and the death of David about 975 B.C., he traces the double thread of Hebrew history to the Babylonian exile and Jehoiachin's liberation in 561 B.C.; the books therefore represent a period of about four centuries. The principle of arrangement is prevailingly chronological, although groups of stories, as for example the Elisha traditions (II Kgs. 2^{1}–8^{15}), are introduced as a unit. Three general divisions may be distinguished: (1) the records of Solomon's reign, I Kings 1–11; (2) the parallel history of Israel and Judah, I Kings 12–II Kings 17; (3) the history of Judah, II Kings 18–25.

In the first division the editor's contributions appear chiefly in 11, where he condemns Solomon's foreign marriages and the toleration of heathen

cults in Israel. Beginning with the history of the two kingdoms after the division, he incorporates his data regarding each reign in a regular framework, consisting of an introductory and concluding formula. The opening one always defines the synchronism with the neighboring kingdom and the length of the reign (cf. Appendix II for a fuller treatment of Hebrew chronology). To this is added in the case of the kings of Judah the name of the queen-mother. It concludes with a general judgment upon each king. Upon the rulers of Israel this is always adverse, for the basis of the condemnation appears to be the ruler's attitude toward the religion of Jehovah, and in the opinion of the editor the northern cult was altogether wrong because it centred about the high places selected by Jeroboam I to rival the temple at Jerusalem (I Kgs. 12^{26-33}). Occasionally detailed reasons for the condemnation are also given (cf. I Kgs. 14^{22-24}, 15^{11-14}, 16^{30-33}). The concluding formula includes a reference to the editor's source and a record of the death of the king and the name of his successor. To this is added, in the case of the kings of Judah who did not come to a violent end, the statement that, *he slept with his fathers.*

The editorial framework

Parallel to the narrative of Kings and for the most part simply quoted from it are the historical sections in the book of Isaiah (36–39). Far more important are the corresponding passages in Jeremiah (26, 34, 36–45), for they richly supplement the narrative of Kings, which unfortunately has only a brief account of the events immediately preceding and following the fall of Jerusalem in 586 B.C. These historical sections in Jeremiah are doubly valuable because they appear to be taken from a practically contemporary biography of Jeremiah, probably written by his faithful scribe Baruch.

Historical sections in Isaiah and Jeremiah

It is a striking and fortunate fact that with few exceptions the most important events and epochs in the biblical history are recorded in two or more distinct books. The beginnings of Israel's history and the work and teachings of the Founder of Christianity are presented in four parallel strands of narrative. For the period beginning with Saul and extending to the Babylonian exile there are two, and at certain points three distinct records.

Parallel records

The second continuous history of Israel is found in the books of Chronicles. They begin with a group of genealogical tables, which goes back to Adam, and carry the history down to the decree of Cyrus permitting the Jews to return after the Babylonian exile. Their dependence upon the older books of Samuel and Kings is clearly shown by the presence of many verbatim quotations. To these are added long sections which give this later history its distinctive form. Although it traces the genealogy of the race back to Adam, the narrative really begins with the death of Saul and henceforth focusses the attention on Judah, the temple, and especially the religious institutions which grew up about it. The books of Chronicles consist of four general divisions: (1) An introduction containing genealogical lists, interspersed with brief narratives, I Chronicles 1–9; (2) the history of David's reign, 10–29; (3) an account of Solomon's reign, II Chronicles 1–9; (4) the history of Judah to the fall of Jerusalem, with an appendix containing the decree of Cyrus, 10–36.

Contents of the books of Chronicles

History of Ezra-Nehemiah

The immediate sequel to Chronicles is found in the books of Ezra and Nehemiah. In the original Jewish and Greek canon they form a single book. The separation of the book of Nehemiah under its distinct title was probably the work of Alexandrian scholars, and was adopted by Jerome. This division is not only artificial but also misleading, for as will be shown later (p. 32) parts of the original Ezra narrative are also found in Nehemiah. The original book therefore is best designated as *Ezra-Nehemiah*. It begins with the decree of Cyrus in 538 B.C., and traces the priestly genealogy down to the close of the Persian rule in 332, and therefore represents a period of a little over two centuries.

Its contents

A satisfactory analysis of it in its present form is impossible, for its constituent parts have evidently been disarranged. Thus for example, the conclusion of the Ezra narrative is found in Nehemiah 7^{70}–10^{39} in the midst of Nehemiah's account of the rebuilding of the walls, which begins in 1–6 and is concluded in 12^{27-43}. Nehemiah 12^{1-26} also contains a list *of the priests and Levites who went up with Zerubbabel and Jeshua*, which has no obvious connection with its context. As it now stands Ezra-Nehemiah consists of six general divisions: (1) an account of the events which resulted in the restoration of the temple, Ezra 1–6; (2) a description of the expedition of Ezra and his preliminary reforms, 7–10; (3) Nehemiah's history of his work in rebuilding the walls of Jerusalem and restoring the Judean community, Nehemiah 1^{1}–7^{69}; (4) an account of the reading of the law by Ezra and the public confession which was followed by the acceptance of the new code by the Jewish community, 7^{70}–10^{39}; (5) a census of the Jews in Palestine, with a list of the priests and Levites, 11^{1}–12^{26}; (6) Nehemiah's description of the dedication of the walls and of his later reform measures, 12^{27}–13^{31}.

Period covered by I Maccabees

The narrative of Israel's history is taken up where Ezra-Nehemiah leaves it by I Maccabees, which begins with Alexander's Asiatic conquests in 333–332 B.C. and ends with the death of the Hasmonean ruler Simon, in 135 B.C. Like Ezra-Nehemiah it, therefore, represents a period of about two centuries. The events preceding the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes (176 B.C.) are passed over briefly, but from this time on they are recorded in chronological order and with a fulness and historic proportion unsurpassed in any other Jewish narrative.

Its contents

It consists of four general divisions: (1) an introduction briefly describing the origin of the Seleucid empire and the attempt of Antiochus Epiphanes to abolish the Jewish religion, 1; (2) the history of the successful struggle for religious freedom led by Judas Maccabeus, 2–6; (3) the record of the wars and alliances by which the Jews finally secured political independence, 7–12; (4) the history of Simon's benign rule, 13–16.

Period covered by II Maccabees

Second Maccabees is parallel to I Maccabees, but deals with a much briefer period. It begins with the accession of Antiochus Epiphanes and closes with the restoration of the temple service and the death of Nicanor in 161 B.C. It pictures in great detail the horrors of the religious persecution and the bravery of the martyrs for the law. The parallels with I Maccabees are closest in the accounts of the wars of Judas, which occupy the second half of the book (8–15).

Its contents

In its present form it contains five general divisions: (1) two letters purporting to have been sent by the Jews of Palestine to the Jews of Egypt urging them to observe the feast of Dedication, 1^1–2^{18}; (2) the author's preface, 2^{19-32}; (3) a description of the events which led up to the persecution, 3–5; (4) an account of the persecution and the endurance of the faithful, 6, 7; (5) the history of Judas's wars and victories, 8–15.

Theme and character of the book of Esther

Although it is a popular story rather than a history, the book of Esther may also be included with Israel's historical and biographical narratives, because it reflects the pride and hatred with which the Jews during the Maccabean period regarded their heathen neighbors, with whom they were constantly brought into close and painful contact. Like the apocryphal book of Tobit, which also belongs to the same class of literature, it throws light indirectly upon the life of the Jews of the dispersion, among whom were probably to be found in the later centuries fully half of the members of that persecuted race. The story is a closely knit literary unit, is vividly told, and abounds in dramatic contrasts and the effective dialogues which constitute the charm of the earlier Old Testament narratives.

General character of the Old Testament historical literature

Viewed as literature, the historical and biographical narratives as a whole constitute an exceedingly attractive and important department of the Old Testament library. They are concrete, vivid, realistic portraits of the complex life of ancient Israel. Their literary forms are almost as varied as their themes. Brief annals, genealogical lists, personal memoirs, impassioned orations, songs of lamentations, popular traditions, didactic stories, and historical romances are all represented. Viewed as the record of nine centuries of Israel's national experiences they are unique among the writings of antiquity because of the relative completeness and exactness of the picture which they present. The important events and epochs are usually portrayed with great fulness, while the unimportant are passed over rapidly or in silence. The duplicate narratives make it possible to study the vital facts from very different points of view. The significant characters in the history and their acts also stand out in clear relief. Intimate acquaintance with the men who made Israelitish history discloses the dominant tendencies of each age and the forces which influenced it. Above all, these Old Testament narratives at every point call attention to the divine guidance and purpose which moulded Israel's history and made it not merely the record of the life of an insignificant race, but a transcendently important chapter in the history of humanity, for through the life of that race God was revealing his character and will to the world.

II

THE EARLIER HISTORIES AND BIOGRAPHIES INCORPORATED IN SAMUEL AND KINGS

The growth of Samuel and Kings

THE historical value of the great prophetic record in the books of Samuel and Kings is due to the fact that it consists for the most part of verbatim quotations from earlier histories and biographies. The determination of their character and date is therefore not only interesting but also absolutely essential before they can be used in reconstructing the true outlines of Israelitish history. The growth of these books was gradual and the process nearly as complex as in the case of the opening books of the Old Testament. No sharp line of demarcation separates the one group from the other. Contemporaneously and as the result of similar forces, each took form. They drew their data from the same fund of common tradition, and doubtless in many cases the same authors or at least school of authors contributed to each. The following chapter aims simply at giving a clear outline of the conclusions presented in this volume regarding the nature of the sources which underlie Samuel and Kings, and their literary history. The detailed reasons and analyses will be given in connection with the text (for a graphic representation of the different sources and their relations to each other and to the completed book, compare the Frontispiece to this volume).

1. The Early Judean Saul and David Narratives

The ark stories

The original book of Judges closed abruptly in chapters 13–16 with an account of the Philistine advance and Samson's ill-organized and futile counter-attacks. The original sequel to these in the early Judean prophetic narratives appears to be embedded in I Samuel 4, which tells of the repeated defeats of the Israelites by the Philistines and of the loss of the ark. The subsequent fortunes of this sacred palladium, which already has figured most prominently in the Judean narratives (cf. Vol. I, §§ 79, 86), and which found its final resting place in the southern capital and sanctuary, are recounted in 5^2–7^1. Possibly these popular narratives were once taken from a cycle of stories which centred about the ark itself, but their present language, picturesque literary form, and natural representation, reveal their relationship to the products of the early Judean prophetic school.

Saul cycle of stories

From the same point of view and in the same literary style are written the vivid stories in 9^1–10^{16}, $11^{1\text{-}11,\ 15b}$, 13^1–14^{46}. They also assume precisely the conditions pictured in 4–6. They tell of the natural steps whereby Saul was made king and wrested from the Philistines the independence lost when the ark fell into the hands of those strong foes. These Saul stories constitute a closely knit literary unit. The character and work of Israel's

first king are presented sympathetically and appreciatively. Samuel does not oppose, but rather works earnestly for the establishment of the kingdom. Circumstances force the people to take the successive steps which ultimately led to union and national independence. As in the case of the different groups of the patriarchal stories (Vol. I, pp. 22, 23), these traditions were probably found originally in the form of a Saul cycle and then incorporated in their larger history of Israel by the early Judean historians. They may therefore be appropriately designated as the *early Judean Saul narratives.*

Early David narratives

With 16^{14-23} the point of view perceptibly changes. Henceforth David is the central object of interest and Saul suffers by contrast. The facts and conditions, however, presented in the preceding early Judean narratives are assumed. The same vivid style and picturesque words and expressions recur. The representation is natural and the historical motive is prominent. Again the conviction deepens that the group of stories which from this point run through II Kings 2, picturing realistically the fortunes and achievements of David, is the sequel of the preceding Judean narratives, but that originally they were drawn from that largest and most important cycle of stories in the Old Testament, which gathered about the character of Israel's popular hero and conqueror-king. They may therefore be designated as the *early Judean David narratives.*

Their extent and unity

These narratives are found in I Samuel 16^{14}–$17^{11, 32-40, 42-49, 51-54}$, $18^{6-8, 12-16, 20-29a}$, 19^{1-17}, 20^{1-39}, 21^{1-9}, 22^{1}–23^{14a}, 25^{2}–28^{2}, 29–31, II Samuel $1^{1-4, 11, 12}$, 17–$3^{1, 7}$–$5^{13, 17-24}$, 6, 8^{7-10}, 9^{1}–21^{14}, 23^{8-39}, 24, I Kings 1, 2^{13-45}. Many of them stand alone by themselves as complete stories, and it is possible that, as is maintained by some scholars, those found in II Samuel 9–20 originally constituted an independent group, but the unity of the David stories as a whole is very marked. Not only are they written in the same style and characterized by the same familiar idioms, but the same conceptions of the events of the history and of the chief characters constantly recur. David in his declining years, overshadowed by his great sin, is not so attractive as the hero of the earlier struggles, but he is still the object of the nation's love, the great king whose earlier achievements the people cannot forget (II Sam. 19). The Joab of II Samuel 18 and 20 is identical with the bold, unscrupulous general of II Samuel 3. The unique friendship between David and Jonathan and its dark background, the hatred and jealousy of the house of Saul, run through and bind together all these stories.

Their character and history

Viewed either as literature or as historical sources, the early Judean David narratives are unsurpassed by any others in the Old Testament. The pictures which they give of the actors and events in this epoch-making period in Israel's history are not only interesting and full of life and local color, but they may be accepted as substantially true, even in detail, to the historical facts. They and the related Saul stories probably represent the first extensive Hebrew writings. The impressions which the stirring events recorded made upon the popular mind were exceedingly vivid. It was doubtless because of their great importance and universal interest that the impulse to commit them to writing was first felt by Israel's patriotic his-

torians. This conclusion is fully confirmed by their character. As the earliest product of the Judean prophetic school, they naturally have certain characteristics peculiar to themselves, partly due to their priority and partly to the nature of the original traditions which they embody. They appear to have shaped the ideas, determined the methods, and given the inspiration to the early Judean writers, which led them subsequently to collect the traditions regarding the period of the Judges and then of each preceding period, until they traced their history back to the first man in the Garden of Eden (cf. Vol. I, pp. 18, 19).

Their date

From their themes and literary character, as well as from their relation to the longer Judean narrative, it may be fairly inferred that the Saul and David histories were written not very long after, if not before, the division of the Hebrew empire at the death of Solomon. There is in them no reflection of the hostility between the North and South which immediately followed that event. The later reign of Jehoshaphat (876–851 B.C.), when the armies of the two kingdoms again fought side by side and when the political, commercial, and probably the intellectual life was very active, furnishes a most natural background for the work of the prophets who gleaned them from the mouth of the people and committed them to writing.

2. The Later Ephraimite Samuel Narratives

Absence of the early Ephraimite narratives in Samuel

In view of the division of the Hebrew empire at the death of Solomon and the bitterness engendered in the North against the house of David, the Northern or Ephraimite historians had little desire or incentive to record the glories of the united kingdom. These belonged in a peculiar sense to the South. Moreover, the Judean records were so complete that there was no necessity for the late prophetic editors to draw from the traditions of the North, which perhaps presented the darker side of these reigns in a manner not altogether agreeable to the conceptions of later Judean editors. Whatever are the real reasons, there is no clear evidence of citations in Samuel and Kings from the early Ephraimite prophetic narratives. With the accounts of the achievements of the northern heroes recounted in Judges, the quotations in the Old Testament from this early source apparently cease, except as the stories of Elijah (corresponding to the Saul and David stories in their relation to the Judean narratives) probably represent the prototype of the writing of this school (cf. p. 18).

The Samuel narratives

Side by side, however, with the Judean account of the establishment of the monarchy is a connected series of narratives which have all the characteristics of the later Ephraimite source. They recount the deeds of a prophet —Samuel of Ramah in the North. In these later narratives he is conceived of as judging the people, as did Moses according to the related tradition of Exodus 18. Like his great predecessor, he rules as Jehovah's regent over all Israel (cf. Vol. I, pp. 38, 39). When the people confess their sin (7^6, 12^{10}; cf. Num. 14^{40}, Judg. $10^{10.\ 15}$), Samuel intercedes for them (7^5, 8^6; cf. Gen. $20^{7.\ 27}$; Num. 11^2, 21^7), and Jehovah miraculously delivers them from their powerful foes.

Evidence that they are from the Ephraimite school

In the early Judean narratives the kingship is regarded as so desirable that Samuel persuades Saul to assume the leadership, and in the late prophetic or Deuteronomic as a necessary institution, the abuses of which must be carefully guarded against (Dt. 17^{14-20}). In I Samuel 8 and 12, however, it is absolutely condemned in almost the same terms as were the kings of his day by the Ephraimite prophet Hosea (cf. I Sam. 8 and Hos. 8^{4a}, 13^{11}). Many other minor indications, as for example, the reference to a sacred stone or pillar (I Sam. 7^{12}), still regarded as legitimate in the Ephraimite narratives (Vol. I, p. 40), but sternly forbidden in the late prophetic, leave little doubt that this peculiar conception of the history and the work of Samuel originated in the Northern prophetic guilds.

Their contents and history

These narratives are found in I Samuel 1^{1}–5^{1}, 7^{2b}–8^{22}, 10^{17-25}, 12 and 15. The interest throughout is religious rather than political. The purpose is didactic rather than historical. The whole is a popular biography of Samuel rather than a parallel history of the period. It begins with the account of his birth, consecration, early life at Shiloh, and call to be a prophet; but throughout the stories, the attention is focussed on Samuel, the man of God, rather than on Samuel, the individual. That all Israel was led by a prophetic representative of Jehovah, as in the days of Moses, is assumed. The supernatural is prominent. The same peculiar conceptions and point of view reappear in the Elijah and Elisha stories of I Kings 20–II Kings 15. The kinship of these three groups of traditions is clearly very close. They were undoubtedly cherished in the same prophetic circle in the North—probably many of them at the sanctuary of Gilgal near Shiloh, which appears to have become the inheritor of its traditions when the older shrine was destroyed by the Philistines (Jer. 19^{3}, cf. note § 3).

Their date

Some time after the days of Hosea and before Josiah's reformation in 621 B.C. the cycle of Samuel stories, together with kindred products of the later Ephraimite prophetic school, was committed to writing. Whether or not it originally existed independently for a period is a question which can never be absolutely decided, and which is of only secondary importance.

3. Very Late Popular Prophetic Traditions

Characteristics and date of the late popular prophetic traditions

In I Samuel 15^{35b}–16^{13}, 19^{18}–20^{1a}, I Kings 12^{33}–13^{34}, 20^{35-43}, II Kings 1^{9-16} are found certain stories which are related in many ways to the preceding groups. They illustrate the later belief in the dominant, almost supernatural position assumed by the earlier prophets in the life of the nation. They were evidently retold for generations in prophetic circles. While related, this group evidently reflects a still later conception of the prophets than the Samuel cycle. Their real ethical and religious work is almost forgotten and the men of God are conceived of as mere wonder-workers. Thus for example in I Samuel 19^{18-24} the messengers of Saul, and later the king himself, fall down in ecstasy before Samuel, or in II Kings 1^{9-16} the military companies sent by Ahaziah are consumed by fire from heaven at the command of Elijah. Evidently the popular imagination has contributed much to the stories. They recall the *midrashim* or late Jewish didactic tales (cf. p. 26).

While it cannot be maintained that they are all from the same school or date, they reflect the same very late point of view.

4. Popular Judean David Stories

Contents and history of the popular Judean David stories

From the lips of the people also doubtless came the variant versions of the more important incidents in David's early life, as for example, his contest with Goliath, his marriage with Saul's daughter, the king's futile attempt to kill him, and his magnanimity in sparing Saul's life. A comparison shows that they are clearly duplicates of the corresponding early Judean narratives, but here the stories are told with slight variations; details and names are usually forgotten, the coloring is heightened, and the language illustrates the effects of their having been retold from generation to generation. The same love and admiration for David are revealed, only he has been so completely idealized that his faults and sins have been forgotten. The scenes are most of them laid in Southern Judah. It is difficult to conceive that they originally came from any other source than the memories of his fellow-clansmen in the South. The popular version of the story of his contest with Goliath, which was probably added to the Hebrew text at a very late date, since it is not found in the earliest Greek version, may well have been cherished at Bethlehem in Judah.

Their date and place in the books of Samuel

The popular David stories are found in I Samuel $17^{12-31.\ 41.\ 50.\ 55-58}$, $18^{1-5.\ 10.\ 11.\ 17-19.\ 29b.\ 30}$, 21^{10-15}, 23^{16}–24^{22}, II Samuel 1^{5-10}. Most of these were evidently committed to writing before the late prophetic editor compiled his history of the period—that is before the first capture of Jerusalem in 597 B.C. In his zeal to preserve everything known regarding David, he made the early Judean narratives the basis of his history from I Samuel 16 on, and then supplemented them by the popular traditions, not welding the duplicates closely together as is often done by early editors in the first seven books of the Old Testament, but giving each a different setting. The one exception to this rule is found in I Samuel 17 and 18, and is clearly the work of a still later editor.

5. The Book of the Acts of Solomon

The literary activity in Solomon's reign

With the reign of Solomon a new era in Hebrew history opened. The alliances with neighboring peoples, and especially the Phœnicians, introduced foreign culture. The ambition of the king was to bring his people and kingdom into line with those of contemporary Semitic potentates. The emphasis was placed on the development of his court and capital rather than upon conquest. Literature, as well as art, was probably encouraged by him. In addition to the chancellor or recorder, two scribes were counted among the important officials of his court (I Kgs. 4^{3}). Their duty was probably primarily to conduct the royal correspondence, but for diplomatic reasons, if for no other, a record of the most important events of each reign would also be needed for reference. Hence from the days of Solomon it appears that the Hebrew historians were not dependent upon popular memory and tradition, but had access to brief contemporary annals for the more

important political facts. Here, therefore, the Judean prophetic history properly ends, for the task of its authors was to collect and put in literary form the inherited traditions regarding the period antedating that of contemporary records. At the same time it is clear that the connection was very close between the work of the southern annalists and that of the Judean historians, for the one was the virtual successor of the other.

References to early Hebrew histories

The compiler of Kings refers his readers for further details to what appears to have been three distinct historical works. They must have been extant and accessible in his day, and, we may infer from the form of his references that they were well known. They are the *Book of the Acts* (or *Events*) *of Solomon* (I Kgs. 11^{41}), the *Chronicles* (lit., *Book of the Acts of Days*) *of the Kings of Israel*, and the corresponding *Chronicles of the Kings of Judah*. It is reasonable to conclude that these histories, to which he frequently refers, were also among the chief sources from which he himself drew his political facts regarding the earlier periods. The character and aim of his work and the form of his allusions to them further indicate that he simply quoted from them that which was adapted to his more distinctively religious and pragmatic purpose.

Their character

That these older histories were more than mere annals is clearly indicated. The reference in I Kings 11^{41} is to the point: *Now the rest of the acts of Solomon and all that he did and his wisdom, are they not recorded in the Book of the Acts of Solomon?* The same inference is confirmed by the allusions to the contents of the *Chronicles* (cf. p. 16). The term *Book* in this connection also implies a continuous, more or less expanded history. The *Chronicles* recorded the events of many different centuries. Their historical value depended upon the fact that they were compiled from older sources. The work of other authors appears to have been simply to combine and expand the earlier material. The state annals appear to have been the basis of their work and the expansion at important points to have been accomplished by introducing long quotations from existing histories of important kings and reigns like those of Jeroboam, Ahab, and Jehu.

Earlier sources incorporated in the Acts of Solomon

For the *Book of the Acts of Solomon*, two and possibly three sources appear to have been utilized. The detailed, annalistic material, for example in $4^{1\text{-}19,\ 22,\ 23,\ 26\text{-}28}$, 5^{1}–7^{12}, $9^{10\text{-}29}$, $10^{11,\ 12}$–11^{25}, was presumably taken from the annals of his reign. Only written records would preserve many of the recondite facts there found. From the same source may have come the detailed data regarding the ornamentation, furnishing, and dedication of the temple in 7^{13}–8^{13}, but they would more naturally be kept in the temple records, citations from which appear later in Kings (cf. p. 17). With these may be compared the Babylonian temple accounts which come from a very early period (cf. Johns, *Bab. and Assyr. Laws, Contracts, and Letters*, p. 295). Finally there are found in I Kings $3^{4\text{-}28}$ and $10^{1\text{-}10,\ 13}$ certain popular traditions, evidently of early origin, which illustrate Solomon's wisdom. If the reference to the record of the king's wisdom in 11^{41} is original it would strengthen the conclusion that those traditions were found in the *Book of the Acts of Solomon*, although these, like the popular David stories, may well have been added by the late prophetic editor.

Its character and date

In I Kings 3–11 are found also many late prophetic passages evidently not from the *Book of the Acts*, but the original quotations from it suggest its general character. It was a reasonably comprehensive history dealing with the political and religious events of Solomon's reign. Its primary aim was not religious but rather to record facts. The tendency, however, to idealize Solomon and his reign, which became very marked in later generations, is apparent. The author was evidently a Judean and probably lived not earlier than 800 B.C. He may well have belonged to the early Judean prophetic school. His purpose was to carry the Judean history down to the division of the Hebrew kingdom. Repetition of the same notices in different settings further suggests that his work was supplemented and possibly rearranged before it was used by the late prophetic editor.

6. The Israelitish and Judean Royal Chronicles

Character of the royal chronicles

The author of the present book of Kings always refers to the *Chronicles of the Kings of Israel* and the *Chronicles of the Kings of Judah* as if they were distinct books. Their titles also suggest that they were originally independent. This conclusion is confirmed by the fact that the same events, as for example the campaign of Hazael (II Kgs. 10^{32}, 13^{3}, cf. $12^{17.\ 18}$), are recorded twice in quotations apparently taken from these histories, each describing the invasion as it affected one of the two Hebrew kingdoms and ignoring its effects upon the other. The character and contents of the *Chronicles* appear to have been very similar to those of the *Book of the Acts of Solomon*. Their exact title, *Book of the Acts of Days of the Kings*, suggests that they were histories containing detailed records of events, arranged in chronological order, and that their chief sources were the older annals of the two kingdoms. The thirty-one references which the editor of Kings makes to them and their contents and the quotations which he evidently cites from them establish their character. In the first place they included a continuous and complete history of all the different reigns. In the case of all the kings except Jehoram, Ahaziah, Hoshea, Jehoahaz, Jehoiachin, and Zedekiah, who met untimely fates, the editor explicitly states that the *Chronicles recorded the deeds of each.*

Their contents

For twenty-three distinct items the reader is referred for information or fuller details to the *Chronicles*. Some of these facts are: Jeroboam's wars, the mighty deeds of Baasha, the treason of Zimri, Ahab's ivory house, the cities built by Asa, Hezekiah's construction of the pool and conduit, and Manasseh's sin. They deal chiefly with secular subjects, such as the wars, building enterprises, successes, and the material splendors of each reign. Their attitude toward most of the kings appears to have been commendatory—in striking antithesis to the adverse judgment passed upon them for religious reasons by the author of Kings. The implication of his references to these histories is that they contained many more details than he saw fit to introduce in his brief summaries. Like the *Acts of Solomon*, they doubtless contained quotations from older sources. These were, as in the *Acts of Solomon*, the independent annals of the two kingdoms. The citations

were probably in most cases transcribed verbatim and, having been again quoted by the editor of Kings, found a place in our present books. They can be recognized by their brief sententious form and by their use of certain expressions, as *then* or *at that time*, and the peculiar use of the personal pronoun (for the corresponding Babylonian synchronistic chronicle, compare Appendix X).

Their sources: temple records

The author of the *Chronicles of the Kings of Judah* appears also to have had access to temple records. Extracts from these are found in II Kings 11, 12, 16^{10-18} and 22^{3}–23^{23}. In these passages the attention is focussed not on the king and the fortunes of the kingdom, but upon the temple and its ritual. As in ancient Babylonia, many of the priests were probably scribes, and that they would keep a record of the more important events in the temple history was most natural. The desire to expand these brief records into fuller narratives would also later be felt. They represent the antecedents of the much later temple and institutional history found in Chronicles and Ezra-Nehemiah. That quotations from the temple records had already been incorporated in the *Chronicles*, to which the editor of Kings refers as his main source, is at least probable, although not certain. It is also significant that the citations in II Kings 16 are joined immediately to material taken from the state annals, with no trace of the harmonistic or introductory clauses which the editor usually adds when he himself unites quotations from different sources.

Also private histories

The authors of the *Chronicles of the Kings of Israel*, on the other hand, appear to have drawn from the older private histories of important kings like Jeroboam (I Kgs. $11^{26-31, 40}$, 12^{1-25}), Ahab (20^{1-34}, 22^{1-37}), Jehu (II Kgs. 9^{1}–10^{27}). These personal histories correspond very closely to the early Saul and David histories in Samuel. They were probably not written during the lifetime, but a generation or two after the death of the given king. They give a natural and at the same time sympathetic and favorable portrait of him and the events of his reign. The resulting picture is often in striking contrast to the very different estimates found in the prophetic sources and in the epitomes of the editor of Kings.

Period covered by the *Chronicles*

Quotations from the *Chronicles* and references to them cease with the reign of Jehoiakim (II Kgs. 24^{5}). They contain none of the expressions and ideas peculiar to the late prophetic school which dominated the thought of the exile. It would seem, therefore, that they were composed some time not long after 597 B.C., between the first and second captivities. Possibly the work was begun earlier, and the data regarding the later reigns added as appendices by subsequent writers. The *Chronicles of the Kings of Israel* probably attained their final form shortly after the fall of Samaria in 722 B.C. Together they carried the two great histories of the North and South practically down to the final destruction of both kingdoms.

7. The Early Ephraimite Elijah Stories

With I Kings 17 is suddenly introduced a unique form of narrative. The brief quotations and annalistic style of the preceding chapters are supplanted

Character and date of the Elijah stories

by a picturesque, detailed story. Interest is centred not in the kings of Israel, but in Elijah the Tishbite; not in the insurrections and wars, but in the religious and social life of the nation. Towering above the king and dominating the history is the commanding personality of the great prophet of Gilead. As the spokesman of Jehovah, like Moses in the early prophetic or Samuel in the later Ephraimite narratives, he moulds the history. At the same time there is a freshness, a concreteness, a directness in the language, and a naturalness and reserve in the representation which stamp the stories as comparatively early. The worship at the public shrines like Bethel and Dan, with their golden calves, receives no censure, as it does in the sermons of Amos and Hosea. The toleration and popular identification of the Baal-cult with that of Jehovah are the chief objects of attack. They therefore clearly antedate 750 B.C., when Amos appeared at Bethel with his revolutionary message. On the other hand, the character of Elijah has begun to be clothed with a certain mystery. The tone of the narratives suggests that the traditions which they embody were not committed to writing until a generation or two after the great prophet had passed away. Their approximate date may accordingly be fixed not long after 800 B.C.

Their history

The stories were doubtless treasured in prophetic circles and later kept in written form. The spirit and point of view, as well as the direct reference to Judah in 19^3, as a foreign nation, demonstrate that they came from Northern Israel. Occasional expressions, like *after these things* (17^{17}, 21^1), the designation of the sacred mountain as *Horeb* (19^8), and above all the commanding rôle attributed to the prophet proclaim the kinship of these with the early Ephraimite prophetic narratives in the opening books of the Old Testament (cf. Vol. I, 37–40). Of the two, however, the Elijah stories seem to be the more primitive. They were probably the nucleus about which gathered the similar narratives which ultimately traced the history of the theocratic people back to the days of Abraham. In their light it is for the first time possible fully to understand why this school conceived of the earliest prophets as clothed with almost omnipotent authority and, like Elijah and Isaiah of a later and very different age, shaping from the first the history of the Israelitish race.

Their original extent

In the Greek version the narratives of 17–19 are continued immediately by 21, and in this order they probably stood in the original text. Extracts from the same source appear in II Kings 1. That they are but extracts from a more complete biography of Elijah is clearly shown by the abruptness with which he is introduced in 17—many facts being assumed which are nowhere stated in the fragments which have been preserved—and by the incompleteness of the biography as it stands. Following his usual method only those sections were quoted which conserved the broad purpose of the prophetic editor of Kings.

8. The Gilgal Cycle of Popular Elisha Stories

In II Kings 2^1–8^{15}, 13^{14-21} is found a collection of narratives which centre about Elisha. They have all the characteristics of stories long transmitted

from mouth to mouth. Details regarding the exact setting and the names of the reigning kings have been lost. The supernatural elements are prominent and the ethical motives are often obscured. In these Elisha figures as the man of God, the great wonder-worker. That they are later and modelled after the early Elijah narratives is demonstrated by the fact that the same elements and in some cases almost the identical stories reappear in enlarged proportions. Thus for example, the story of the widow's meal and jar of oil that failed not (I Kgs. 17^{8-16}) reappears in the account of the widow's pot of oil which did not fail until she had, at Elisha's command, drawn enough from it to defray all her debts (II Kgs. 4^{1-7}). Closely similar to the account of the reviving of the widow's son by Elijah (I Kgs. 17^{17-24}) is the story of his resuscitating the Shunammite's son (II Kgs. 4^{8-37}). It would seem that just as the same tale of deception regarding his wife was twice told about Abraham in different settings and once about Isaac (cf. Vol. I, §13), so in popular tradition, not only the mantle, but also the reputation of Elijah fell upon his chief disciple.

Dependence of the Elisha stories upon the Elijah group

The Elisha stories are not as closely knit together as are the Elijah narratives. They are rather a bundle of anecdotes, each complete in itself. Minor inconsistencies also indicate that they were originally taken from at least two distinct groups. Thus for example in 5^{27} Gehazi is a leper and therefore an outcast, but in 8^{4} he is introduced conversing with the king and is still the trusted servant of the man of God. There is not the slightest reference to the incurable disease with which, according to 5^{27}, he was afflicted. In one cycle of stories Elisha is represented as residing at Gilgal. This is evidently not the Gilgal near Jericho but the sanctuary southeast of Shiloh (cf. 2^{1-4}). There he lives in close association with the guild of the sons of the prophets which was located at that place (4^{38-44}). In this cycle there are frequent references to these sons of the prophets and their wives. Furthermore, the stories without exception all relate to the events of private life, and they resemble most those found in the early Elijah group. Evidently they were treasured on the lips of the people living in the West Jordan valley, not far from Elisha's home at Abel-Meholah, and were probably first collected by some member of the prophetic guild at the neighboring town of Gilgal.

The two distinct cycles of Elisha stories

In the Gilgal cycle may be included II Kings 2, $4^{1-7, 38-44}$, 6^{1-7}. It is impossible to fix their date exactly. Several generations have evidently transmitted them orally. They have the Northern Israelitish stamp, but since the fall of Samaria in 722 B.C. did not mean the deportation of the bulk of the inhabitants of Israel, it is possible that they were not put in literary form until after that event. This later date also best accords with their general character.

Date of the Gilgal cycle

9. The Samaria Cycle of Popular Elisha Stories

In the other cycle, which included the remaining stories in II Kings $3–8^{15}$, to which may be added 14^{8-14}, Elisha is conceived of as residing at Samaria, the capital (5^{3}, $6^{24, 32}$), and as being in close touch with the king and court (3^{11}, 4^{13}, 5^{8}, $6^{9, 32}$). Most of the stories reflect his activity not in private but in public life, and especially in the wars with Moab and Aram. The

Contents and character of the Samaria cycle

Arameans in fact figure in six out of nine stories belonging to this cycle. No references are found to the sons of the prophets, but instead Gehazi is the servant, ever attendant upon the prophet ($4^{12, 14, 25-36}$, 5^{20-27}, 6^{15}, 8^{4}). Like a king, Elisha is usually represented as simply giving directions or else sending his servant with his potent staff to work the wonders recorded. The earlier stories here reflected are found not only in the Elijah group but also in the early Ahab history. Thus for example the parallel between I Kings 22 and II Kings 3 extends even to similar scenes and language (cf. II Kgs. 3^{7-11} and I Kgs. 22^{4-7}). Close analogies may also be traced with certain of the patriarchal stories, as for example the prediction that the Shunammite woman should have a son before a year had passed (cf. 4^{16} and Gen. 18^{14}).

Its date

It is difficult to determine which of these cycles is the older. They doubtless grew up contemporaneously. The Samaria group, however, clearly embodies more historical data and probably was committed to writing before the fall of that city in 722 B.C. The fact that Samaria was a literary centre would facilitate the process. These two cycles of popular Elisha stories were apparently combined—citations being taken alternately from each—before they were incorporated as II Kings. The fact that they are all introduced together and have received practically no editorial revision probably indicates that they were among the latest additions to the book. It is more than possible that they came into the possession of the late prophetic editor as a result of the conquests and reforming expeditions of Josiah, which, according to II Kings $23^{19, 20}$, extended to the sanctuaries of Samaria.

10. The Isaiah Stories

Contents and character of the Isaiah stories

It was most natural that in later generations among Isaiah's disciples there should also grow up a cycle of stories associated with him and preserving in traditional form the memory of his work. Three stories from such a group are found in II Kings 18^{17}–20^{19} (cf. §§ 122, 124). They are again quoted by the editor of the book of Isaiah in 36–39, with the further addition of a psalm which is attributed to Hezekiah (38^{10-20}). The first of these narratives is evidently a duplicate of the extract in II Kings 18^{17}–$19^{9a, 36, 37}$, which was apparently taken from a Hezekiah history. In popular transmission the details of the incident have been partially forgotten; while in the expansion of the story in 20^{8-11}, Isaiah like Elisha is conceived of as a wonder-worker. The references to the Babylonian exile in $20^{15, 17}$ indicate that these stories were committed to writing after 586 B.C.

11. The Final Editing of the Books of Samuel and Kings

Work of the pre-exilic editors

This brief study of the sources of Samuel and Kings has sufficed to show that many very early elements enter into these composite books, and that their growth was gradual, representing a period of fully four centuries. Their real author or authors selected the quotations from the older annals, biographies, and temple records, arranged them in their present order and, in the book of Kings, fitted them into a stereotyped framework (cf. p. 7).

The language, the expressions, and the distinctively religious ideas of these editorial sections are those of the late prophetic group of writers who were inspired by the book of Deuteronomy and the great reform of Josiah in 621 B.C. (for a detailed list of their words and expressions, cf. Driver, LOT, pp. 200–203, Hast. DB II, pp. 859–861). The original editor of Kings carried his history down to the reign of Jehoiakim, but apparently writes from the point of view of Palestine, and while the Judean state was still standing (cf., *e.g.*, *to this day*, II Kgs. 8^{22}, 16^{6}, 17^{24-34}).

Work of the final editor

The exile, which quickly followed, transformed the thought of Israel's religious teachers so completely that a later editor, writing probably in Babylonia not long after 561 B.C., gave to the book of Kings its final form. He likewise belonged to the late prophetic school, so that it is not always easy to distinguish his work from that of his predecessor. He certainly added the account of the final destruction of Jerusalem and the liberation of Jehoiachin in 561 B.C. The conception of Jehovah in I Kings 8^{27-30} and of the temple as a place of worship for all peoples is closely akin to that found in Isaiah 40–56. Also $^{33, 34}$ seem to imply the point of view of the exile. This is also true of II Kings 21^{7-15}. It is probable that in their present form the prophetic addresses in I Kings 8^{14}–9^{9} and II Kings 21^{7-15}, as well as certain other minor additions, are from the latest editor. Later priests and scribes added occasional notes, but by 540 B.C. the prophetic historical books of Samuel and Kings were practically complete.

III

THE CHRONICLER'S ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY OF JUDAH AND THE TEMPLE

Contents of the late ecclesiastical history

EXCEPTING in the three or four quotations from the temple records, the books of Samuel and Kings are throughout national and prophetic in their interests. Their final editors were clearly prophets, and to the same group of religious patriots belonged the authors of most of the older sources which are quoted. It was natural that the other prominent class of Israel's teachers, the priests, whose interests were distinctly ritualistic and ecclesiastical, should also write their own version of the history. Closely corresponding in spirit and purpose to the late priestly narratives in the Pentateuch is the parallel history of Judah found in the books of Chronicles and their direct continuation Ezra-Nehemiah. Identity in literary style and point of view, as well as the repetition of the opening verses of Ezra (1^{1-3}) at the close of Chronicles ($36^{22.\ 23}$), leaves no doubt that the books are all from the same author or editor, and originally constituted one continuous narrative, beginning with Adam and concluding with the account of the great priestly reformation associated with Ezra (about 400 B.C.).

Its date

The fact that the author of this extensive history speaks of the days of Nehemiah and Ezra as though they belonged to the distant past (Neh. $12^{26.\ 47}$) and the kings of Persia as though he lived under a different rule (Ezra $1^{1.\ 2.\ 8.}\ 3^{7}$) at once suggests that he wrote at least from the point of view of the succeeding Greek period. Nehemiah $12^{11.\ 22}$ also mentions Jaddua who was high-priest in 332 B.C., when Alexander conquered Palestine. The awkward Hebrew which he used, and the highly developed ceremonial institutions with which he is familiar, as well as his general point of view, indicate that he wrote not earlier than 300 B.C., probably about the middle of the third century.

Method of the author

Again the historical value of the work turns largely upon whether the author depended for his facts merely upon the traditions current in his own day or upon written sources, and also whether he recast the information, which he collected, in his own language, or quoted it practically verbatim from much earlier sources. An examination of his work at once demonstrates that his method, like that of the editors of Samuel and Kings, was primarily compilation. Nearly half of the books of Chronicles consists of exact or slightly variant quotations from the Old Testament books of Samuel and Kings. Variations in style, point of view, and even minor inconsistencies in representation clearly indicate that the greater part of Ezra-Nehemiah, and probably certain of the remaining portions of Chronicles, were taken bodily from older written sources. The real work of the writer of Chronicles and Ezra-Nehemiah was therefore not primarily that of an original author

but of a compiler and editor. An appreciation of this fact is essential to an understanding of his unique history. It also tends to enhance its historical value, for it is obvious that in general the nearer the records stand to the events the greater their accuracy and authenticity.

Point of view and peculiarities of the Chronicler

Since his name is not known, the final editor of this extensive history may be conventionally designated as the *Chronicler*. From his modifications of the older narrative of Samuel-Kings, from his systematic omissions, as well as from the passages which came originally from his pen, it is possible to determine definitely his point of view and distinctive peculiarities. Like the writers of the late priestly school, his interests are ecclesiastical rather than national, ritualistic rather than prophetic, and didactic rather than historical. He was interested in Judah, because in it was the temple, and in the temple, because about it gathered the ceremonial institutions which he regarded as the beginning and end of existence. History was to him important simply because it gave the background and recorded the beginnings of these institutions, and because it furnished apt illustrations of the peculiar ethical and religious principles which were uppermost in his mind. In common with that post-exilic Judaism whose point of view is likewise reflected in the non-canonical writings, which he quotes, he was dominated by the natural and irresistible tendency to idealize the past and project back into it the conditions and institutions existing in his day. Thus a comparison with the older parallel narratives of Samuel and Kings at once shows that numbers are often raised from hundreds to thousands (cf. I Chr. 22^{14}, II Chr. $13^{3.\ 17}$, $14^{8.\ 9}$, 17^{14-19}, $28^{6.\ 8}$), gold takes the place of brass, the priest of the warrior, and a miracle of the victory won by the swords in the hands of Israel's gallant defenders. David is regarded by him as the founder of the post-exilic guilds of singers and the organizer of the elaborate temple ritual, even though the sanctuary itself was not built until the days of Solomon and did not attain its dominant religious prestige until centuries later. In I Chronicles 26 he appears even to have forgotten this fact and refers to the gates of the temple (designated by their Persian name) as already existing in the day of David.

Modification of his earlier sources

The Chronicler lived in an age when zeal for the ritual had almost completely obscured the historical perspective. Certain accepted theories were also regarded as more authoritative than recorded facts. It was therefore doubtless in all honesty that he at times modified his older sources. Thus the later idealization of Solomon led him to invert the testimony of I Kings 9^{11-14} and represent the builder of the temple as receiving certain cities from Hiram of Tyre rather than ceding them to him (II Chr. 8^{2}). The later conception of Jehovah's rule and the new belief in a personal adversary led him to state that David was influenced by Satan, not by Jehovah, to number the people (cf. II Sam. 24^{1} and I Chr. 21^{1}). To reconcile the story with the more familiar version in I Samuel 17, he represents Elhanan as slaying, not Goliath, as in II Samuel 21^{19}, but the brother of Goliath (I Chr. 20^{5}). Some of the variations from the narrative in Samuel and Kings are doubtless due to the fact that the Chronicler followed a different tradition, as for example, when he states that Jehoshaphat joined with Ahaziah in a commercial enterprise

(II Chr. 20^{35}), while according to I Kings 22^{49} he refused to unite with him. Sometimes his quotations from distinct sources introduce absolute contradictions into his narrative, as for example, when he affirms, following Kings, that Asa and Jehoshaphat did not remove the high places (I Kgs. 15^{14}, 22^{43}, II Chr. 15^{17}, 20^{33}), although, quoting from late traditions which idealized these kings, he had already stated that they did remove the high places (II Chr. 14^{5}, 17^{6}). In every case the reason for the variation is transparent and reveals his peculiar point of view and aim.

Omissions

His omissions are equally suggestive. Those facts which did not suit his purpose or were contrary to his theory of the history were omitted. Thus nothing is said of David's crimes and the national disasters that followed in their train, for in his thought David was the man after God's own heart, to whom was due the conception and organization of the temple. Many references to the primitive idolatry which survived in Judah until the Babylonian exile (*e.g.*, I Kgs. 14^{22-24}, II Kgs. 18^{4}) are passed over in silence; no mention is made of Hezekiah's tribute to Assyria (II Kgs. 18^{14-16}). Most significant of all is the almost complete absence of the Northern Israelitish history which figures so prominently in Kings. Saul is only introduced on the fatal battle-field of Gilboa, and then to be condemned. For the Chronicler the chosen people are those of the South, and *Jehovah is not with Israel* (II Chr. 25^{7}). Judah, Benjamin—which he always associates with the southern kingdom—and Levi are the three tribes which command his first attention in the opening genealogies and throughout his history. The northern kingdom has so completely vanished from his vision that *Israel* is frequently used as a designation of Judah (*e.g.*, II Chr. 21^{2}, 28^{19}). The reason for this omission is obvious. According to his retributive philosophy of history the early fall of the northern kingdom was conclusive evidence of its rejection by Jehovah. More important still was the historical fact that the antecedents of the later Judean community and the temple, which alone interested the Chronicler, all went back to Judah, not to Israel.

His aim to write an ecclesiastical history

His aim, however, was not to give an ordinary history of Judah. Many incidents of great political significance are ignored. Nor was it to write the history of Israel's religion, else he would not have passed over without mention the great work of Elijah, Amos, and Hosea. It was rather to record the history of Judah, conceived of from the first as a sacred state centring about the temple, with the priests, the Levites, and earlier the king and his court, as its officials. Although the words, *church* and *ecclesiastical*, are in a sense anachronisms, the Judah which the Chronicler knows and pictures is nothing more than an ecclesiastical state, and his narrative as a whole may best be designated as the *Ecclesiastical History of Judah and the Temple.*

His position in the community

The prominence which he gives to the Levites and the frequency with which he introduces into his quotations from earlier sources detailed descriptions of the temple music and especially of the levitical guilds of singers, strongly suggest that he belongs to one of these. Connection with the ruling class in the Jewish hierarchy put him in possession of the current priestly traditions and doubtless enabled him to consult the then extant histories of his race.

His references to earlier histories

The references of the Chronicler at first glance give the impression that in writing I and II Chronicles he had before him a large number of writings in addition to those now included in the Old Testament. Of these sixteen distinct titles are given. Four of these, the *Book of the Kings of Judah*, the *Book of the Kings of Judah and Israel*, the *Book of the Kings of Israel*, and the *Affairs of the Kings of Israel*, are without much doubt variant titles of the same work. To these may be added in all probability the title *Midrash of the Book of the Kings* (II Chr. 24[27]), for it is referred to in II Chronicles 24 as containing a group of facts kindred to those found in the work bearing the preceding titles. Furthermore, as has been acutely urged, it is difficult to see why, if distinct and yet relating to the reigns of all the kings, it should be referred to but once by the Chronicler.

Words of the prophets and seers

Moreover, as will be shown later, most of his quotations from non-canonical sources evidently came from what might most appropriately be designated a *Midrash* (cf. p. 26). When the Chronicler at the conclusion of a reign does not refer his readers for further information to a book having one of the five titles cited above, he substitutes some special authority, as for example the *Words of the Seer Samuel, the Prophet Nathan and the Seer Gad* (I Chr. 29[29]), or the *Words of Nathan the Prophet* and the *Prophecy of Ahijah the Shilonite* and the *Visions of Iddo the Seer* (II Chr. 9[29]). Each of these titles is connected with the name of some prophet or seer mentioned in the history of the period. The fact that they are always introduced as substitutes for the titles of the more comprehensive work, and never appear with them in connection with the same reign, seems to indicate that they simply refer to sections of the greater *Book of the Kings* in which these prophets figured. This conclusion is strongly confirmed by such passages as II Chronicles 20[34], *Now the other acts of Jehoshaphat, the earlier as well as the later, have already been recorded in the Words of Jehu the son of Hanani, which is inserted in the Book of the Kings of Israel*, and by the Hebrew version of II Chronicles 32[32], *Now the acts of Hezekiah as well as his pious deeds have already been recorded in the Vision of the Prophet Isaiah the son of Amoz, in the Book of the Kings of Judah and Israel*. The natural implication of these statements is that possibly the *Words* and *Vision* were once originally distinct, but that they then constituted a section of the larger work. The remaining title, the *Midrash of the Prophet Iddo* (II Chr. 13[22]), may have been distinct, but it is also possible that the Chronicler employed it as synonym of the work attributed to the same author and in II Chronicles 9[29] and 12[15] refers to it under the variant titles, the *Visions of Iddo the Seer* and the *Words of Iddo the Seer*.

His use of Samuel-Kings

The contents of the books of Chronicles support in general the inferences drawn from the references to earlier sources. The many verbatim quotations from the canonical books of Samuel and Kings and especially from the sections which came from the late prophetic editor leave little doubt that they, like the earlier pentateuchal books, were before the Chronicler and were made by him the basis of his work.

The history of the *Book of the Kings of Judah and Israel*, to which he so often refers, must necessarily remain largely a matter of conjecture. It is

The Book of the Kings of Judah and Israel

certain from the references and probable quotations from it that it was distinct from the Old Testament books of Samuel and Kings. It may possibly have been based on these, but it also contained much else. This additional material may in part have come from the larger *Chronicles of the Kings of Judah* and the *Chronicles of the Kings of Israel*, which the editor of Kings frequently mentions. There are occasionally found in the writings of the Chronicler detailed statistics which are probably authentic and which favor the conclusion that they were ultimately derived from an older source. In levitical and priestly circles the older histories would inevitably be modified and expanded very much as the Chronicler treated the material of Samuel and Kings. Another familiar and instructive illustration of the same transforming process is found by comparing the early Judean prophetic accounts of the exodus, the wilderness wandering, and the conquest of Canaan with the corresponding late priestly versions (cf. Vol. I, §§ 63–116). Soon after the beginning of the Babylonian exile the originally distinct chronicles of the northern and southern kingdoms may have been blended into one work.

The *Midrash* of the Book of the Kings

It does not seem probable that the Chronicler had before him an exilic *Book of the Kings of Judah and Israel.* Certainly most of his data, other than those from the canonical books of Samuel and Kings, if not, as has been claimed, his own creation, must have been taken from what may properly be called a *Midrash of the Book of the Kings.* The word *midrash* describes a large proportion of the literature of later Judaism. It is derived from the Hebrew word meaning *to search out, explore.* It is applied to an edifying story like Tobit, or to an address or exposition intended to bring out the implied or hidden meaning of a scriptural passage. Its aim is always didactic. If the story is highly embellished, it is to attract the reader and emphasize the moral. As in the modern didactic novel, the leading characters are frequently introduced simply to give expression to the teachings of the author (cf. p. 4). The passages not quoted by the Chronicler from his canonical source are excellent examples of this type of literature. They always relate to prominent historic characters and scenes. They usually start with certain well-authenticated facts. Questions suggested in the older source are answered at length, numbers are multiplied, all the details assume larger and more exalted proportions, right is always richly rewarded and wickedness signally punished, miracles are common, and prophets and kings deliver noble, majestic, spiritual addresses, embodying the best doctrines of later Judaism. Sometimes the story element is more prominent and sometimes the addresses. These didactic stories and addresses constitute the really distinctive element in the books of Chronicles. A few, and possibly all of them, may have been written by the Chronicler, who is imbued with their spirit and aim, but some appear to have been cited by him from an extensive *Midrash of the Book of the Kings* which probably grew up gradually on the basis of the earlier exilic *Book of the Kings of Judah and Israel.* It must, however, be frankly admitted that the evidence which has led the latest commentators, like Benzinger and Kittel, to assign a large part of Chronicles to this source is meagre and not altogether

decisive. The presence of the Chronicler's peculiar idioms and ideas throughout all these sections still furnishes a good basis for the thesis of the earlier German critics, who maintained that the Chronicler had but one source, Samuel-Kings, and that all else was the creation of his own active imagination. On the whole, however, the simplest and most satisfactory explanation of all the facts is that he had before him one or two midrashic sources to which he frequently refers under many different titles. In vocabulary and literary style, as well as in point of view, the stories which he takes from them are so closely related to those from the pen of the Chronicler that any detailed analysis is necessarily very uncertain and unsatisfactory. Their theological and moral ideas and their attitude toward the ritual are also closely parallel to those of the Chronicler himself. Some of them so obviously favor the Levites at the expense of the priests that they must have come, like the book of Chronicles, from the pens of Levites.

Date of the *midrashim* in Chronicles

In general they may be dated in the century of religious and national revival which followed the reformation associated with Nehemiah and Ezra about 400 B.C. When the late priestly law was accepted as the absolute guide of the community, the religious leaders sought not only to conform their lives and those of their own generation to its definite and revolutionary demands, but they also began to rewrite history in order to bring the past into harmony with it. At the same time they were influenced by the desire to find in the precedents of the past, authority for the usages of their day. Thus not only Moses, but also David, Solomon, Jehoshaphat, Hezekiah, and Josiah were represented as being strict upholders of the post-exilic institutions. Since these *midrashim* stand so near in date, as well as point of view and literary style, to the work of the Chronicler, even if they could in each case be definitely distinguished, the analysis would be of little value.

Late priestly temple history

From the same periods probably come the apparent quotations in I Chronicles $15^{1-15,\ 25}$–16^{3}, 21^{1-27}, 22^{2-13}, 28^{1-19}, 29^{1-9}, and possibly the nucleus of 23–26 and II Chronicles 24^{4-14}. They are based upon the briefer narratives of Samuel and Kings. These, however, are revised, so that the priests and Levites figure as the guardians of the ark, and everything is done in accordance with the late priestly law. The Levites are divided into six classes, 15^{3-9}, instead of three as elsewhere by the Chronicler. The theme which binds together these different sections is their interest in the temple. They appear therefore to have been taken from a late priestly temple history, which may have been incorporated in the *Midrash of the Book of the Kings*, but was probably originally distinct.

Point of view of the Chronicler's school

Thus the Chronicler's work is the outgrowth of many earlier writings, and represents the culmination of a long process of development. He himself does not stand alone, but is rather the final editor or epitomizer of the work of a school of writers. Their predecessors were the editors of Judges, Samuel, and Kings, who likewise selected their stories to illustrate their religious and ethical doctrines. Their contemporaries were those who wrote the very late priestly stories in the Pentateuch (*e.g.*, the account of the war with Midian, Vol. I, § 101). Their successors were the authors of the later Jewish *midrashim*, who for example in the book of Jubilee rewrote

and freely expanded the stories of the patriarchs with a similar didactic aim. Time and circumstance explain their lack of the historical sense. Prolonged subjection to foreign rulers had excluded the Jews from all participation in political life. The shadow of the exile still rested heavily upon them. At this time the future offered little to inspire them. Their chief joy and pride and comfort were the magnificence of their ritual and the glories of their past. Prominent before their eyes were the dazzling splendors of the Persian and Greek empires. These furnished their basis by comparison with which the facts recorded in the primitive sources of Samuel and Kings seemed paltry and insignificant. Idealizing and almost idolizing the leaders and great events in the past history of their nation, it was inevitable that they should readily overlook the sins and the mistakes, and represent its victories and glories on a scale corresponding to that with which they were familiar.

Their noble religious conceptions

Their idealized past also furnished dramatic illustrations of that moral order in the universe in which they firmly believed. Aside from their interest in the ritual, which to their minds represented worship and true religion, their supreme purpose was to proclaim that God is just, that he is merciful, and that he rules directly and personally in human life. The might of armies and nations counts as nothing against him. In the end the right will surely win. Obedience and faith in Jehovah are more effective instruments in the hands of Israel's kings than powerful armies and strong alliances. Thus, although the historical perspective of the Chronicler and his school is often defective, their stories emphasize certain of the most vital spiritual truths.

IV

THE ORIGINAL SOURCES AND HISTORICAL VALUE OF EZRA-NEHEMIAH

Importance of Ezra-Nehemiah

While the Chronicler aims in the first great division of his work (I and II Chr.) to show that the ceremonial institutions of his day could all be traced back to David and Solomon, in the second, Ezra-Nehemiah, his purpose is to demonstrate that these institutions were revived, in connection with the second temple, by the exiles who returned from Babylonia. Unfortunately, the parallel prophetic history of Samuel-Kings stops with the exile, so that the historian is almost entirely dependent upon the Chronicler for information regarding the Jewish community during the Persian period. The sermons of Haggai and Zechariah supplement and correct the Chronicler's portrait at one important epoch (cf. note § 146), and the book of Malachi and the prophecies in the latter part of Isaiah throw light upon social and religious conditions, but otherwise the additional data are few. On the other hand, the Chronicler stands much nearer the events which he records in the second great division of his work, and his testimony is accordingly more valuable.

Chronicler's peculiar conceptions of the post-exilic history

Fortunately, his peculiar ideas and tendencies and those of the late priestly and levitical writers whom he quotes, are clearly revealed by comparative study of Samuel, Kings, and Chronicles. These reappear in Ezra-Nehemiah and must be reckoned with in reconstructing the true course of the history. In his mind the priests and Levites are so much more important than the laymen, that only the Babylonian exiles, among whom were found the priests who survived the catastrophe of 586 B.C., were deemed by him eligible to rebuild the temple and reinstitute the rule of the law. The people of the land—those who survived the captivity and under the inspiring teaching of Haggai and Zechariah actually rebuilt the temple in 520 B.C. (cf. note § 146)—were in his eyes ceremonially unclean. The true Israel—like the Jewish community of his own day, ruled by priests and devoted solely to maintaining the temple ritual and fulfilling the insistent demands of the ceremonial law—is the chief actor in his history. As in the *midrashim* of Chronicles, events are the results of direct divine intervention. Jehovah is represented as influencing the most powerful Persian kings to pour upon the returning exiles the wealth of the empire and to issue decrees, the language and purport of which were well calculated to satisfy the strictest priestly patriot. Ezra 1, 3^{1}–4^{5} and 6^{16-22} are excellent illustrations of the Chronicler's conceptions of the revival of the Jewish community. Undoubtedly important historical facts are at the basis, but the idealized character of the narrative is clearly revealed by comparing it with the early record found in Haggai 1 or Ezra 5^{3}–6^{15}.

His sources: the Aramaic document

The analysis of Chronicles has demonstrated, however, that the Chronicler was not primarily an author, but a compiler. This fact also determines the great historical value of Ezra-Nehemiah. He makes long, verbal quotations from three or four older sources. The first is the Aramaic document cited in Ezra 5^{3}–6^{15}. It records an unsuccessful attempt by the local Persian satrap to stop the building of the temple. Not only is the language different, but the vocabulary and literary style are distinct from those of the Chronicler. A Persian monarch like Cyrus is referred to simply as *the king*, implying that the document was at least composed before the Greek period, when he was designated as *the king of Persia*. At the same time the Jewish form of the decree in $6^{3\text{-}12}$ suggests that that idealizing process had begun, which is still more prominent in the sections which come from the Chronicler (cf. Appendix XII for a recently discovered decree of Darius). In general, however, the data, which it presents, may be regarded as authentic. Probably from the same series of documents, which appear to have recorded the official relations between the Persian government and the Judean community, was taken the other Aramaic section in Ezra $4^{7\text{-}23}$. It is very loosely connected with its context, which relates to the rebuilding of the temple, while it records an independent attempt to restore the walls. Its true setting is to be found in connection with the work of Nehemiah (cf. note § 155). Whether or not these Aramaic documents were more extensive and furnished the Chronicler additional data is an interesting question, which cannot be definitely answered. Ezra 1 appears to be his expansion and idealization of the facts derived from the Aramaic document quoted in 5^{3}–6^{15}. The continuation of Ezra 1, found in I Esdras 5^{47}–6^{5} (cf. § 144), and Ezra 3^{1}–4^{6} may possibly contain some older data derived from his Aramaic source, but there is no conclusive evidence.

Nehemiah's memoirs

The oldest and by far the most important source quoted by the Chronicler is the memoirs of Nehemiah. Written to record the stirring events in which he was the leader, they rank as in many ways the most authentic and valuable historical document in the Old Testament. In a concise, straightforward, vivid narrative this noble Jewish patriot tells of how he accomplished the seemingly impossible task of rebuilding the ruined walls of Jerusalem and of reconstructing fundamentally the moral and religious standards of the degenerate Jewish community. In Nehemiah 1^{1}–7^{5a}, with the probable exception of chapter 3, the Chronicler quotes bodily from this source. Unless it is found in $11^{1.\ 2}$, the sequel to 7^{5a} has been lost in the complex process of editorial readjustment, to which the material in Ezra-Nehemiah has been subjected. The conclusion of the account of the rebuilding of the walls is probably to be found in $12^{31.\ 32.\ 37\text{-}40}$. In $13^{3\text{-}31}$ Nehemiah's energetic reforming spirit again finds expression. Since the section concerns the reform of the ceremonial life of the community, the Chronicler has evidently here departed from his usual custom in quoting from the memoirs of Nehemiah and recast and supplemented his source at several points (cf. note § 158). The references in $^{3.\ 6}$ also imply that he failed to reproduce that part of the memoirs which probably told of Nehemiah's other acts as governor and of his return to Artaxerxes. Otherwise we appear to be in complete

possession of the autobiography of the most important Jew of his age. The preservation of this document, which records the work not of a priest nor of a Levite, but of a layman, must forever be reckoned to the Chronicler's credit. It certainly represents his greatest service to history. Upon a brief but exceedingly important period, which is preceded and followed by centuries of comparative obscurity, it throws the clear light of contemporary testimony.

Various conclusions regarding the origin and value of the Ezra narrative

Nehemiah's memoirs also furnish a definite starting point for the consideration of the complex and difficult problems presented by the remaining chapters of Ezra-Nehemiah. Within the past decade an extensive literature has grown up about them (cf. Appendix I), in which very diverse conclusions have been maintained by different scholars. Basing his deductions upon a careful, exhaustive study of the vocabulary and literary style, Professor Torrey in his *Composition and Historical Value of Ezra-Nehemiah* concludes that they were all originally written by the Chronicler, and that Ezra is but the creation of his imagination. Others maintain that in Ezra 7^{27}–9^{15}, 10, we have verbatim quotations from Ezra's memoirs, and in Nehemiah 7^{70}–10^{39} documents of the time of Ezra (cf., *e.g.*, Guthe, *The Book of Ezra and Neh.* in SBOT). This position naturally carries with it the acceptance of the testimony of these records as substantially historical. These wide variations in opinion are possible from the historical point of view, because Ezra is mentioned nowhere else in the Old Testament outside Ezra-Nehemiah. Even in Ben Sira's list of Israel's immortals (written about 190 B.C.) the name of Ezra is not found beside those of Zerubbabel, Jeshua, and Nehemiah (49^{11-13}). This omission is all the more significant because Ben Sira himself is an intelligent and reverent disciple of the law and of the traditions that gathered about it. Likewise in the still later traditions found in II Maccabees 1^{18-23} Nehemiah, not Ezra, is the one who is represented as coming back from Babylon to Jerusalem to restore the worship. In estimating the work and relative importance of these two men it is significant that outside the writings of the Chronicler the one, a priest and scribe, is ignored and the other, a layman, is honored for the next three or four centuries by Judaism, the chief interest of which nevertheless centred in ceremonialism and the law.

Priority of Nehemiah's work

Many of the otherwise insuperable difficulties of Ezra-Nehemiah disappear, when it is recognized that, if at all historical, the work of Ezra must have followed, not preceded that of Nehemiah. If an expedition of the size and importance of the one described in Ezra 8 had gone to Judah only thirteen years before, it is incredible that Nehemiah would have made no reference to it, and also have found conditions in Jerusalem as he did. Not one of the ardent reformers mentioned in Ezra 8 is referred to in Nehemiah's detailed record. The leaders of the community also, instead of being ready to submit to any sacrifice, are even suspicious of the man who comes to help them build their walls. Moreover, after the community had submitted to Ezra's sweeping measures, Nehemiah's mild reforms are meaningless. On the other hand, such an expedition as Ezra is represented as leading back to Judah was a practical impossibility before Nehemiah had fortified Jerusalem,

reorganized the community, and brought the dismembered sections of the Jewish race into sympathetic touch with each other. Likewise his pioneer reforms, enforced by his energy and authority and claim to the gratitude of the Palestinian community, alone make credible the revolutionary changes associated with Ezra and realized in the character of later Judaism. Direct evidence also may be found in Ezra's prayer in Ezra 9, in which he gives thanks that the wall of Jerusalem has been rebuilt and Judah's defences restored (vs. [9]). Instead of a defenceless, afflicted city, he found a strong, populous community, ready to follow him to any extreme, even if it involved the severance of all relations with foreigners and the rending asunder of their homes (Ezra 10).

Present order due to the Chronicler

The present impossible order of events in Ezra-Nehemiah is probably due to the Chronicler's desire to give Ezra, the priest and scribe, the precedence over Nehemiah. His free readjustment of his sources is illustrated not only in Chronicles but also repeatedly in Ezra-Nehemiah. Thus for example the account of an attempted interruption of the rebuilding of the walls in the days of Artaxerxes he introduced in 4^{7-23} as an explanation of why the temple was not completed before the days of Darius. In Nehemiah 12^{44}–13^{31} the analogy is even closer. Just before the quotation in 13^{10-12}, which tells of Nehemiah's pioneer regulations providing for the income of the Levites and singers, he himself adds a section, 12^{44-47}, in which it is stated that this arrangement had already been made and was in force in the days of Zerubbabel and in the days of Nehemiah (§ 158). Possibly the original Ezra tradition read in Ezra 7 the *thirty-* or *forty-seventh year of Artaxerxes*, or the reference may have been to Artaxerxes II or III. It is more probable, however, that the Chronicler simply introduced his favorite number to establish the priority of Ezra. Additional evidence of his desire to give Ezra a prominent position is found in the fact that he also in Nehemiah 12^{36} places Ezra at the head of the procession of priests at the dedication of the walls, although the older sources give no suggestion that this priestly reformer was then at Jerusalem.

Original order of the Ezra narrative

That the similar material in Nehemiah 7^{70}–10^{39}, which is injected into the midst of the quotations from Nehemiah's memoirs, belongs with the dismembered section, Ezra 7–10, was even recognized by the editor of I Esdras, who introduces Nehemiah and immediately after Ezra 10. Of the many attempts to restore the original order, that of Torrey alone gives a connected and consistent narrative: Ezra 7, 8, Nehemiah 7^{70}–8^{18}, Ezra 9, 10, Nehemiah 9, 10. With the exception of the editor's introduction, Ezra 7^{1-10}, and a few supplemental passages, the unity of representation and ideas is confirmed by the constant recurrence of the same peculiar words and expressions. It must be admitted that the strenuous efforts of certain scholars to find here the work of several different authors is a failure. Even those sections in which Ezra is represented as speaking in the first person are not exceptions. As Professor Torrey has further demonstrated, nowhere outside that book itself do we find more, if as many, of the literary characteristics that distinguish the book of Chronicles. They are so marked and recur in nearly every verse with such persistency that all possibility is eliminated

that this is due to mere chance. This fact is fully recognized and further illustrated in great detail by Geissler (in *Die literarischen Beziehungen der Esramemoiren*), who, however, maintains that the Chronicler was not the original author of the narrative. Contents and method of representation also emphasize the close relationship with the narratives of Chronicles. If a majority of the distinctive passages in that book are from the Chronicler, he is unquestionably the author of the Ezra narrative. But if, as seems more probable (cf. pp. 26, 27), he quoted largely from the *midrashim* which came from the very late priestly school to which he belonged and of which he was the final editor, he here again figures in his ordinary rôle of editor and reviser. The arbitrary manner in which he has rearranged the narrative, dismembering it without adjusting the parts to their new settings, strongly suggests that he had an older document before him. Certain grammatical and stylistic peculiarities, as well as characteristic words and idioms, also distinguish this Ezra narrative from the passages elsewhere assigned to the Chronicler (cf. Geissler, LBE pp. 22–24). His own additions can also be detected at several points. As Geissler has shown, the earlier scriptures most quoted are the pre-exilic and exilic prophets, Deuteronomy, and the Holiness Code, but not the later sections of the priestly code, which figure most prominently in the writings of the Chronicler.

The Ezra narrative from the Chronicler's school

The possibility that Ezra himself wrote a memoir and that we have quotations from it is therefore not absolutely precluded, but literary and historical considerations do not support it. The vocabulary and literary structure of what may be called the *Ezra narrative* proclaim that it stands nearer the Chronicler and the author of Esther than Nehemiah or the late priestly writers. Its contents support the same inference. The decree of Artaxerxes, Ezra 7^{11-26}, the account of the fabulous wealth brought back by the exiles, 8^{24-27}, and the sudden conversion of the Judean community read much more like the *midrashim* in Chronicles than Nehemiah's detailed memoirs. The parallels between the history of Nehemiah and that of Ezra are also many and striking: the liberal decree of Artaxerxes, the journey to Jerusalem with a following and unusual authority, the preliminary study of the conditions, the detailed reforms, and finally the recording it all in the form of a personal memoir. It is significant that practically every element in the covenant recorded in Nehemiah 10 corresponds to a distinct reform instituted by Nehemiah (13^{4-31}). When we add to this the conspicuous absence of any other references to Ezra in the literature of the next three or four centuries, the conviction deepens that this is partly idealized history, in which the mantle of Nehemiah has fallen upon Ezra. An instructive analogy might be drawn between the Nehemiah-Ezra and the Elijah-Elisha stories. Elijah and Nehemiah were both men who met grave crises with dauntless courage and energy, and as a result of their achievements set to work forces which revolutionized the subsequent history of their race. Later schools of writers, however, manifested a strong tendency to transfer the renown of their work to two of their successors who represented more perfectly the ideals of the later school in which the Elisha and Ezra traditions respectively assumed their final literary form (cf. pp. 18–20).

Evidence that the Ezra narrative is idealized history

Its historical significance

At the same time there is good reason for believing that Ezra, as well as Elisha, actually lived and that he performed an important, although less conspicuous service than tradition attributed to him, in introducing the priestly law to the Judean community. As portrayed, he and his acts faithfully symbolize that fundamental and probably gradual reformation which converted the weak, discouraged people to whom Nehemiah and the author of Malachi spoke into a body of heroes and martyrs, who in the Maccabean struggle won religious and political freedom.

Origin of the genealogical lists

The remaining chapters of Ezra-Nehemiah consist chiefly of genealogical lists in which the Chronicler was deeply interested. The data incorporated in them may in part have been derived from the *Book of the Chronicles*, to which he refers in Nehemiah 12^{23}, but their setting and present literary form are clearly due to the editor himself. It must be admitted that their historical value is slight, except as they reveal the organization of the Judean community in the days of the Chronicler, and in the immediately preceding century. The census of the Jews in Palestine in the latter part of the Persian period (cf. note § 165) has been introduced by the editor into the Nehemiah history and again in Ezra 2, where it purports to give the list of those who returned soon after 538 B.C.

Historical value of Ezra-Nehemiah as a whole

Thus in its present form, as it comes from the Chronicler, Ezra-Nehemiah gives the reader a confused and misleading conception of the real course of post-exilic history. And yet side by side with the dull and almost valueless genealogical lists, this book contains some of the most detailed and exact historical writings in all the Old Testament. In a fragmentary manner, and yet with vivid flashes of light at critical points, it records the rebuilding of the second temple, the elaborate development of its ritual, the revival of the Judean state, the return of the exiles, the unification of the Jewish race, and the birth of that Judaism which treasured the writings and traditions incorporated in the Old Testament and furnished the background and atmosphere of the New.

V

THE RECORDS OF THE MACCABEAN AGE

Importance of the Greek and Maccabean periods

THE list of the Jewish high-priests in Nehemiah $12^{10, 11}$ carries the history of the Jewish people down to the conquests of Alexander in 332 B.C. This leaves a period of over three centuries, until the birth of Christ, regarding which the historical records in the present Protestant Bible are absolutely silent. It is, however, one of the most important periods in biblical and Israelitish history. It was during these centuries that several of the books of the Old Testament, such as Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, Daniel, Ecclesiastes, and Esther were written, and many more like Proverbs and Psalms crystallized into their present form. It also witnessed the gradual growth and practical completion of the canon of the Old Testament. These memorable three centuries not only bind the Old Testament to the New, but represent the final development of that Judaism which is the outgrowth of the life recorded in the Old Testament. Without a knowledge of the events and forces of this revolutionizing era, any study of either of the Testaments is necessarily incomplete. It was then that Greek and Jewish ideas and civilization met in mortal combat and later contributed each their peculiar message to Christianity. Out of the fires of persecution came that passionate love for race, for law, for traditions, and for Jerusalem, which fused all the scattered members of the Jewish nation together, and which has kept them practically intact until the present. Then the feud between Jew and Samaritan reached its height of bitterness, and through the conversion of the Idumeans at the edge of the sword, the malign influence of the Herodian house became a potent factor in Jewish history. Then also the Jews of Galilee and Perea were brought into religious union with those of Judea. The same transitional epoch saw the birth and full development of the Pharisaic and Sadducean parties. The brilliant victories under the leadership of Judas Maccabeus and his successors gave the Jews that taste of liberty and conquest which made them so restive under the rule of Rome and so eager to welcome the visions of a temporal Messianic kingdom.

Value and canonicity of I Maccabees

Fortunately, the most important events of this reign are recorded in detail in two books which are still included in the Old Testament canon accepted by the Greek and Roman Catholic churches, and which have only in very recent times been dropped from the Protestant Bible. In the case of several of the so-called Apocryphal Old Testament books the conclusions of the Reformers and the final decision of the Bible Societies, during the earlier part of the last century, are amply justified. But the tendency which is becoming so marked among thoughtful Bible students in this country and in Europe to restore at least in practice such a book as I Maccabees to its rightful place beside Samuel and Kings is sane and thoroughly justified by the facts. Its lateness and the fact that, unlike Ecclesiastes and many Psalms,

it was not associated with revered names like those of Solomon or David, alone kept it out of the Palestinian Jewish canon. Otherwise its historical title to a place in the Old Testament is well established. Measured by the more fundamental and enduring standards of value and authority, its claim to a place in the Old Testament is well supported. As has just been noted, the events which it records are surpassed in importance and inspiring qualities by none in Israelitish history. Judas and Simon are certainly as brave and noble types as David and Solomon. The deeply patriotic and religious spirit in which it is written compares favorably with that of Samuel, Kings, or Chronicles. As a vivid, faithful record of the events of which it speaks it is equalled by no other Jewish writing.

Value and canonicity of II Maccabees

While its historical title to canonicity is equally valid, II Maccabees does not rank with the first book. Its theme, however, is in general the same, and it supplements the earlier history at many points. Its spirit is also strongly religious, although far less historical. It may be compared with the Chronicler's late ecclesiastical history. In both the primary aim is not merely to record events, but rather to edify and instruct. Nowhere else in pre-Christian Jewish literature does the belief in the resurrection of the dead find such clear expression (cf. $7^{9.\ 11.\ 14.\ 36}$, 12^{43-45}, 14^{46}). In a great variety of ways it effectively aids in bridging the chasm which otherwise yawns between the history and teaching of the Old Testament and that of the New.

Original title of I Maccabees

The present titles to the Maccabean histories were given by the Greek translators on the basis of their contents. The term *Maccabean* was derived from the surname or possibly the original name of the chief hero in the history. The Jews themselves, however, never applied it to the histories nor to the members of his family, but used instead the term *Hasmonean* (or *Asmonean*), the family name of the house of Mattathias. The original Hebrew or Aramaic title of I Maccabees, which was known to Origen (cf. Eusebius, HE 6), was probably *Book* (or *History*) *of the Hasmoneans*. This title is certainly a felicitous designation of the history which records the achievements of the different members of the famous Hasmonean house and the events of their rule.

Its original language and later translations

The independent testimony of Origen and Jerome that it was originally written in Hebrew is completely confirmed by the presence in every verse of characteristic Semitic idioms, and above all by the fact that certain of the obvious errors in the Greek text, which alone survives, are due to the failur of the translator to understand his Hebrew original. Frequently it is possible by restoring the Hebrew to correct the current translation. The original Hebrew version was early lost, probably because it never found a place in the Palestinian canon of the Old Testament, while the Greek, accepted as canonical by the Jews of the dispersion, survived. This translation is exact without being slavishly literal, and was evidently made by a Jew who was well acquainted with the Hebrew and yet master of a good Greek style which was well adapted to the subject matter. Josephus in his history, Jerome in the Vulgate, and the translator of the Syriac version all depended upon the Greek text.

The author of I Maccabees was evidently a Jew and a native of Palestine,

as is shown by his minute acquaintance with its topography and comparative ignorance of places and affairs outside Judea. His familiarity with political events and court intrigues strongly suggests that he was a man of rank and in close touch with the leaders of his day. His loyalty to each of the Maccabean rulers and evident approval of their policy indicate that, if affiliated with either of the leading parties of the state, it was with the Sadducean, rather than the Pharisaic, which soon after the restoration of the temple began to view askance the political and military ambitions of Judas's successors. It is as a devoted and enthusiastic patriot that he writes his history. The earlier historical books are his models. The familiar expressions, *to this day* (13^{30}), or, *now the rest of the acts of John and his wars and his brave deeds—behold they are recorded in the Chronicles of his high priesthood* ($16^{23, 24}$, cf. 9^{22}), indicate that he wrote with the feeling that he was the true successor of the earlier Hebrew historians. His spirit is devout, and he is by no means blind to the religious significance of the stirring deeds that he records, but his first aim is simply historical, that is, to produce a simple, vivid narrative of events. His own reflections he keeps for the most part to himself, but his enthusiasm and piety doubtless find expression in the exalted addresses, usually in the form of poetry, which are uttered by Mattathias ($2^{7-13, 49-60}$), Judas (3^{18-22}, 4^{8-11}), and the people (3^{50-53}). These and other passages reveal a man zealous for the religious institutions of his race, assured of its noble destiny, but believing that this was to be realized not by miracles but through men who combined faith with courage and action.

Its author

The author of I Maccabees records the death of Simon 135 B.C. and refers in the epilogue, $16^{23, 24}$, to the wars of John Hyrcanus and the rebuilding of the walls which belong to the earlier part of his reign, between 135 and 125 B.C. The absence of any reference to the later important acts of John's reign, as for example the conquest of Idumea and the destruction of Samaria, indicate that the history was probably completed by 125 B.C. It also reflects throughout the national pride and exultation that reached their height during the days of Simon and the earlier part of the reign of John Hyrcanus. There is no suggestion of the clouds that began to gather during the latter part of John's reign, because of the opposition of the Pharisees, nor of the storm of civil war which swept over Judea during the reign of Alexander Jannæus. The Romans, instead of being regarded as the future conquerors of Judea, are spoken of as distant allies whose friendship is most desirable. On the other hand there is no positive evidence pointing to a later date. Instead, the minute details, the marvellous acquaintance with men and facts and forces are best explained by the conclusion that the author was reporting events with which he was personally familiar.

Its date

The unity of I Maccabees and the absence of abrupt transition and contradiction distinguish it from books like Samuel and Kings, which are compilations from earlier sources. Furthermore, aside from the two stereotyped formulas, which he introduced in imitation of the earlier historians (9^{22}, 16^{24}), the author nowhere gives the slightest suggestion that when he wrote, earlier sources relating to the period were in existence. The simple, straight-

Its sources and integrity

forward style of the book is most like that of Nehemiah's memoirs, and indicates that popular traditions contributed very little, if anything, to it. From the first it probably took its position as the standard history of the period. It is the only Jewish source quoted by Josephus for this epoch, and he appears to have known it in practically its present form. It has been questioned whether certain of the documents incorporated in the book are not late additions (especially 10^{25-45}, 14^{27-47}, 15^{16-24}). That these are exact copies of the original edicts and letters is not probable, but that the epitomes were made by the author of I Maccabees, who was in a position to be familiar with their conditions, seems on the whole the most natural explanation of the facts.

General character of II Maccabees

In passing from the sober, exact, carefully dated records of I Maccabees to the second book the transition is most marked. In his preface, 2^{19-32}, the author of the present book of II Maccabees states that his work was an abridgment of a longer work of five volumes written by Jason of Cyrene. Being a Jew of the dispersion, Jason naturally wrote in Greek. This is further proved by the absence of Semitic idioms, and the flowing and highly ornate Greek style which is the antithesis of that employed in I Maccabees. The vocabulary is also extensive, and many rare words occur. Its faults and its virtues are those of the Alexandrian Greek school of writers.

The history of Jason of Cyrene

The two letters prefixed to the book may be authentic, but they simply relate to the feast of Dedication, and were probably added later to the historical section which begins with 3. The important question is, who was Jason of Cyrene, whose history is the basis of the present book? Unfortunately, the evidence must be derived from the epitome of his work. His knowledge of everything that relates to Syria is far more accurate than in the case of Egypt or Palestine (cf. $4^{27, 30}$, 5^{24}, 8^{32}, 12, 14^{12}), which suggests that when he wrote his home was at or near Antioch rather than in Cyrene in northern Africa. His aim in writing, like that of his epitomizer, was probably to edify his readers, the Jews of the dispersion. He differs too often in the order of events, as well as details, from I Maccabees to have been acquainted with that work. From the nature of his material it seems clear that his sources were oral traditions, emanating in some cases at least from eye-witnesses. Regarding the wars of Judas in 164–163 B.C. he has preserved two variant versions, 10^{14-38}, 12^{10-45}. In 13^{23-26} and 11^{13-21} are what appear to be two confused accounts of the final treaty with Lysias. Further, the evidence that he utilized originally independent traditions is found in the fact that Timotheus, whose death is recorded in 10^{37}, is described in 12 as again leading a campaign.

His date

Depending as he does on the oral testimony of those who were contemporary with the events, it is probable that Jason wrote his history some time between 160 and 140 B.C. The wide variations from I Maccabees do not necessarily point to a considerable lapse of time, but are rather due to the fact that the author of the one was actuated by the historical spirit, and was in personal touch with the events which he recorded, while the other was largely dependent upon oral tradition, which develops with marvellous rapidity in the East.

The epitomizer plainly states that his aim was simply to abridge the larger work. He does not appear to have utilized any other sources. His method seems to have been, as he implies in his preface (2^{24-33}), to quote those passages which seemed to him attractive and edifying, omitting others which dealt with uninteresting details, and briefly to epitomize still others. His work was not known to Josephus, although it was evidently before Philo and the author of Hebrews (cf. $11^{35, 36}$), from which it may be inferred that he lived somewhere between 60 and 10 B.C. and wrote at Alexandria. Date and work of the epitomizer

The historian Niese has recently maintained (in his *Kritik der beiden Makkabaerbücher*) that II Maccabees is equal or superior to I Maccabees at many points. He is undoubtedly right in his contention that the second has preserved valuable historical facts; but unless all evidence regarding the origin and purpose of the two books is to be disregarded, there is no doubt that the first is by far the more reliable in reconstructing the history. External as well as internal evidence supports in general the order of events in I Maccabees, and where it is contradicted by II Maccabees the error is in most cases to be found in the latter. Where II Maccabees is the only witness, its historical testimony may be utilized after due allowance has been made for its well-known tendencies to exaggerate. In general the two histories confirm and supplement each other and together give a remarkably vivid and detailed picture of the Maccabean struggles. Relative historical value of I and II Maccabees

The book of Esther may be counted as one of the indirect sources for the Maccabean period. In an intensified and far from attractive form it expresses the proud, almost insolent (cf. Mordecai's refusal to recognize the authority of Haman) attitude of the Jews toward the heathen, which was the outgrowth of the Maccabean conflicts and victories. It reflects the same vindictive spirit that led them under John Hyrcanus and Alexander Jannæus to slay by thousands their Idumean, Samaritan, and Philistine foes. The presence of both Aramaic and Persian words and the literary style of the book indicate that it comes from a comparatively late date. The Persian empire lies in the vague past and many of the established usages of its court have been forgotten. The proselyting spirit, which did not appear in Judaism until the Greek and Maccabean periods, is also present (9^{27}) From the nature of its theme it is impossible to determine the exact date of the book. It may be assigned with assurance to the second century B.C. According to the concluding sentence in the Greek translation, this version was known in Egypt by 114 B.C. (if the reference be to Soter II), which points to the first part or middle rather than the second half of the century. Date of the book of Esther

The improbabilities and impossibilities of the story have long been recognized. That a Persian king would make an Amalekite and then a Jew his prime-minister and a Jewess his queen was contrary to all the firmly established customs of the empire. It is also incredible that he would permit and even decree the slaughter not only of all the Jews but also of thousands of his Persian subjects and that, after eleven months' warning, they would make no resistance. The chronological difficulties are equally great. Thus, for example, Mordecai, transported to Babylon in 597 B.C., in 474 becomes Xerxes's prime-minister. The events of the book are also Evidence that it is a romance

dated at the time when the king was engrossed in his disastrous campaigns in Greece and when Amestris, a cruel and dominating woman, was queen (Herod. 7^{114}, 9^{112}). Above all, the highly dramatic representation and coloring indicate that it is one of the popular stories or *midrashim* with which later Jewish literature abounded.

Its purpose and origin

Its obvious purpose was to give the traditional origin, and to encourage the observance of the feast of Purim (9^{17-32}). A German scholar (Jensen, *Elamitische Eigennamen*) has recently called attention to the fact that Hamman was the chief deity of the Elamites, whose capital was Susa (Shushan), while Marduk (from which the name *Mordecai* is derived) was the leading god of the Babylonians. In the same pantheon and related to Marduk was the goddess Ishtar, whose name appears in the later Babylonian as *Estra*, which would be *Esther* in the Hebrew. Similarly Vashti is the name of an Elamite deity. Thus it would seem that the story, like the account of creation in Genesis 1, originated among the Babylonians. It apparently reflected the ancient hostility between them and the Elamites, each people being represented by its chief deities. If so, it has been freely adapted by the Jewish story-teller, who heightens the dramatic interest by making Mordecai a descendant of the family of Saul and Haman of Agag, the Amalekite king captured by Saul (I Sam. 15).

Possible Babylonian origin of the feast of Purim

If this is the origin of the story, the feast probably also once commemorated a great victory of the ancient Babylonians over their hereditary foes the Elamites. The non-Hebrew word, *Purim*, seems to be derived from the Babylonian *pur, stone*, which would point to their custom of casting the lot to determine the date of the feast, as they are known to have done in the case of their great New Year's festival; or it may come from the Babylonian *puhru, assembly*. If it was adopted by the Jews of the East from the Babylonians, it retained its secular character and continued to be observed simply as a time of general merry-making. As a modern analogy, attention has been called to the fact that the Jews to-day in many Christian countries celebrate the Christmas festival.

Place of Esther in the canon

The interest and aim of the book of Esther are thoroughly secular. Its morality is far removed from that of Israel's noblest prophets. Aside from their commendable courage and loyalty to race, no thoughtful teacher would hold up Esther or Mordecai as examples to be emulated. The spirit that seems to exult in the slaughter of thousands simply because they are heathen is as alien to the better genius of Judaism as to that of Christianity. It is not strange that the place of the book in the Jewish canon was long and hotly contested by the Jewish scribes, and although the Christians adopted the Palestinian canon *in toto*, its position in it has repeatedly been challenged. Certainly no one to-day would maintain that its claim on historical or ethical or religious grounds was superior or equal to those of I and II Maccabees or Ben Sira or the Wisdom of Solomon. If, however, the Old Testament is regarded as the faithful record of the many-sided life and thought of that Israelitish race through which Jehovah gradually revealed his universal purpose, then the book of Esther may still be accorded its traditional place.

VI

THE RECOVERY OF THE ORIGINAL TEXT OF THE HISTORICAL BOOKS

The marvellous preservation of the Hebrew text

THE oldest existing manuscripts of the Old Testament books, with possibly one or two minor exceptions, come from the tenth and eleventh centuries of the present era. This surprising lack of comparatively ancient texts is due to the fact that the copies were written on perishable papyrus, parchment or leather, and when they became worn they were, because of their sanctity, systematically destroyed by the Jews, that they might not be thrown aside and suffer pollution. When it is recalled that the surviving manuscripts of the earlier historical records were made eighteen hundred years after the originals were written, the marvel grows that they are as well preserved as they are. Their accuracy depends upon the care and fidelity of the hundreds of scribes, who through the centuries have transmitted the original. There is abundant evidence that in general the existing copies reproduce in nearly all important passages the thought of the prophets, priests, and sages who first wrote them.

Evidence of many minor textual errors

On the other hand, the evidence that a vast number of minor errors has crept into the surviving Hebrew manuscripts is equally conclusive. This is demonstrated by the differences in the Hebrew texts themselves, by the variations found in the early translations made from manuscripts far older than any which still survive, and by the obviously confused and corrupt character of many passages. The Jews fully recognized that mistakes were inevitable, and ruled that all texts in which there were more than three errors in a column be destroyed or withdrawn from use. Fortunately these textual errors usually affect the literary style and individual words and expressions rather than the vital messages of the Old Testament books.

Their causes

These errors are due to a great variety of causes, all of which are amply illustrated in the historical books. Sometimes the text from which the copy was made was worn or its letters were not clearly written. Certain letters because of similarity of form were easily mistaken for others. The ancients were well aware of this danger. In the Mishna (*Sabb.* 103[b]) the copyists are warned against confusing the Hebrew letter *b* with *k*, *g* with *ç*, *d* with *r*, soft with hard *h*, *w* with *y*, *z* with *n*, *t* with *p*, and *m* with *s*. A great number of errors are clearly traceable to this simple cause. Since the vowel letters were not originally written, a wide difference of reading was possible. Abbreviations were also frequently misunderstood. The consonants, which were at first alone written and without being separated, were sometimes wrongly divided, the last letter or two of one word being read with the following; or when the last letter in one word was the same as that of the following, one letter would be omitted. Transpositions of letters and even clauses were

not uncommon. Instead of rewriting a roll, a copyist would insert an overlooked clause or verse at the point at which he discovered his omission. Words and clauses were also frequently repeated by mistake (dittography), and conversely one of two clauses or verses with the same beginning or ending was readily overlooked (homoioteluton).

Scribal changes

During the early centuries in which the number of copies of each book was limited and before the integrity of the text was jealously guarded, each copyist, who was also usually a scribe, was at liberty to change the text. These changes are undoubtedly many and can in most cases be readily recognized. They consist of explanatory glosses, first placed in the margin and then by later copyists introduced into the text, not infrequently in a connection different from that originally intended. Still more common are the supplemental additions intended to conform the reading to the point of view of later scribes. It is often very difficult to distinguish these additional notes from those of the earlier editors of the book. In some cases the scribes deliberately altered the text in accordance with their peculiar religious ideas. The later Jewish aversion to using the sacred name *Jahweh* not only led them to substitute the vowels of the Hebrew word for *Lord*, but also elsewhere to introduce *God* (*Elohim*), where the Greek, for example, retains the older name. Interpreting literally the statement in Hosea 2^{16} that Jehovah would *take the names of the Baalim out of their mouth*, they substituted the vowels of *bosheth*, the Hebrew word for *shame*, wherever *Baal* occurred. Thus in II Samuel 2^{8} and elsewhere, *Ishbaal* appears as *Ishbosheth*.

History of the Hebrew text

The history of the Old Testament books is closely connected with that of the canon. As soon as a book was included in a canon of scripture its integrity was carefully guarded. The first canon to be formed was probably that of the law between 400 and 300 B.C. To this was later added the canon of prophetic writings, which included the books of Samuel and Kings. By the close of the first Christian century the canon of the Old Testament was complete. Thus for four or five centuries at least each historical book was dependent simply upon the care and fidelity of copyists who did not regard them with the deep veneration that filled the hearts of the later scribes. It is clear that during this long period, which in the case of Samuel-Kings and Chronicles-Ezra-Nehemiah included the time of the bitter persecution and the Maccabean wars, the Hebrew text suffered the greatest alterations. This conclusion is not a mere matter of conjecture, but is demonstrated by a comparison with the early Greek versions, which in many cases have undoubtedly retained the original readings. Furthermore, the historical books were never protected by the same exalted reputation for sanctity as the law. The result is that the existing Hebrew versions of these books contain more obvious errors than those of any other Old Testament books excepting possibly Ezekiel.

Basis of the existing Hebrew texts

From the first Christian century the strongest efforts were put forth to guard the consonantal text from all possible errors. Many elaborate rules were laid down for the guidance of copyists. The verses and words and even letters in each book were counted. The middle word and letter was

determined. A careful census of the frequency of occurrence of many words and phrases was made. All peculiarities in the writing of the text were also recorded. These and other facts point to the conclusion that early in the Christian era a certain Hebrew text was adopted as the standard edition. Probably from that time on, as later, all variant Hebrew manuscripts were destroyed in order to insure one consistent reading. This recension is the basis of the present Hebrew Bible. It is obvious that it cannot represent at every point the original autograph text. If it was a critical recension, as seems probable, it simply represents the judgment of the rabbis who were able to compare the existing variant texts. If not, it is but one—probably the best—of the then existing texts. The extravagant claims made concerning its perfection by later Jewish scholars and at times adopted by the church rest on a dogmatic rather than an historical basis.

Work of the Massorites

At the close of the fourth century A.D. Jerome knew only a consonantal text. From the fifth to the eighth century, however, a group of Jewish scholars devoted themselves to reproducing by the use of signs to represent the vowel sounds and punctuation marks the traditional Hebrew text as it was then recited in the synagogues. The tradition regarding the text was at that time known as the *Masoreth*, and they were therefore called the *Massorites*. Their work also included the division of the original consonants into words and the addition of a large body of critical notes on the margin calling attention to anomalous forms and suggesting traditional readings or conjectural emendations. These are often very valuable and aid materially in restoring the original. The Massorites were the pioneers in Hebrew textual criticism. While they did not always agree among themselves, their work, when completed about the end of the ninth century, became the basis of all later editions of the Hebrew (cf. the modern standard editions of Baer, 1892, Ginsburg, 1894).

General value of the early translations

This brief outline of the history of the Hebrew text has illustrated the inevitable growth of variant versions and the impossibility of checking their multiplication even by repeatedly adopting a critical recension and guarding it with the most strenuous precautions and jealous care. Since this is so, it is fortunate that translations of the Hebrew scripture were made at an early date. Their history was similar to that of the Hebrew text. Each original translation was soon succeeded by a brood of variant versions, the variations of which were increased because they were constantly being revised by scholars who were familiar with the existing Hebrew manuscripts. While these many variant versions make the task of recovering the original text superlatively complex, they are of the greatest service, for in some one of the many the original has in very many cases been preserved.

Date of the original Greek translation

The first essential in the practical use of any version is acquaintance with its history and characteristics. Jewish and Christian tradition agree in assigning the translation of the law to the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus (284–247 B.C.). If, as is asserted, it was done under the patronage of Demetrius, the librarian of the Alexandrian library, it was during the earlier part of the reign, before he fell into royal disfavor. The prologue of Ben Sira, written in 132 B.C., speaks of a Greek translation of *the law, the prophets,*

and the other books of the fathers, which indicates that the books of Samuel and Kings were doubtless translated before that time. The Greek version of Esther appears to have been extant in 114 B.C. The absences of all references to Ezra (cf. p. 31) strongly suggests that Ezra-Nehemiah and perhaps Chronicles were not translated until near the beginning of the Christian era. Otherwise for the early history of the historical books we are entirely dependent upon the internal evidence.

Date of the translation of Samuel-Kings

This favors the conclusion that the books of Samuel and probably Kings were translated soon after, and possibly before, the Pentateuch. One of the motives which influenced the Jews to translate their scriptures into Greek was apologetic, that is, to refute the charges that were brought against them by their persecutors especially in Alexandria. These charges aimed to throw discredit upon their past history. The books of Samuel and Kings contained the best answer to this charge and also proclaimed the past glories of their race. From the period which begins with the Babylonian exile, many Jews were found in Egypt, and one of the most powerful influences that maintained their racial integrity and kept alive their faith in Jehovah was the memory of their past triumphs. A strong incentive to translate these books would therefore not be lacking even before the days of Ptolemy Philadelphus. Since they were not then regarded as sacred as the Law, no barrier would deter a patriotic Jew from translating them. Whatever be the historical facts, there is good evidence in the character and relative completeness of the version, that the books of Samuel and probably Kings were translated at a comparatively early date, and that they were based on a Hebrew text superior at a great many points to that found in the Hebrew manuscripts at present available.

Value of the Greek translations of the historical books

The Greek versions of Chronicles contribute comparatively little additional data. That of Esther adds practically nothing to the well-preserved Hebrew text. Of Ezra there are two distinct Greek translations, one in I Esdras and the other in chapters 1–10 of Esdras B in the Greek. A careful comparison of these with the Hebrew version leaves little doubt but that the one found in I Esdras, aside from the *Story of the Three Young Men,* which was added later, is the older and is also based upon a text in some respects better and more complete than the one in the present Hebrew of Ezra 1–10. These conclusions of course do not mean that the Greek renderings of Samuel and I Esdras are to be followed in a majority of cases in preference to the Hebrew. A translation is necessarily defective, and the translators of these books often failed fully to understand the original, and were also subject to their own idiosyncrasies. On the whole, however, these books have been translated with unusual fidelity and skill.

Growth of variant Greek texts

If we had the original Greek translations of Samuel-Kings and Ezra-Nehemiah, they would be practically equal to a Hebrew manuscript at least one thousand years older than any we now possess. But as in the case of the Hebrew, the surviving Greek manuscripts are copies of copies. The result was that many variant texts soon sprang into existence. Often the Jewish copyists were not well acquainted with the Greek. The mistakes of the original translators also led them astray. The text was not guarded with

the same religious zeal as the original Hebrew. The copyists, as well as the translators, were also usually Jews of the dispersion and therefore constantly tempted to make slight alterations where the original did not accord with their own broader views.

Version of Aquila

Meantime other independent Greek translations had been made which were based upon the then current Hebrew text. These have an independent value of their own, and also because they exercised a strong influence upon the older Greek translations. Of these, that of Aquila of Pontus, a proselyte to Judaism and a disciple of the great Rabbi Akiba, was the oldest. It was made about 140 A.D. Since it was a slavishly literal rendering of the Hebrew, it is exceedingly useful in restoring that original, although it is too literal to be valuable as a Greek translation. Two fragments of the book of Kings (I Kgs. 20^{7-17} and II Kgs. 23^{12-27}) were discovered in 1897 in the Cairo synagogue (published by F. C. Burkitt). Otherwise the translation is known only through the writings of the Church Fathers.

Versions of Symmachus and Theodotion

The translation made about 200 A.D. by the Ebionite Christian Symmachus was the antithesis of that of Aquila, for its aim was to express the thought of the original in clear, idiomatic Greek. It is important to note that both appear to have had before them a Hebrew text almost identical with that edited by the Massorites. Some time before the close of the second Christian century a certain Theodotion, either an Ebionite or a Jewish proselyte, made a thorough revision of the older Greek translation by the aid of the Hebrew. His work is valuable because he appears to have employed an excellent Greek version and to have followed it closely, supplementing it by many transliterations of Hebrew words. It is also probable that in the present accepted Greek Old Testament his work is the basis of the text of Daniel and Esdras B.

Origen's Hexapla

In time the variations in the Greek versions became so many and distressing that the famous Christian scholar Origen, while living at Cæsarea, in 240 A.D. arranged these four Greek versions, together with the current Hebrew and a Greek transliteration of it, in six parallel columns. This monumental work, consisting of about fifty large volumes, was known as the *Hexapla*. Unfortunately its size rendered it impracticable to copy it. Portions are reproduced in a surviving Syriac translation of the Greek column (the *Syro-Hexaplar*) and in the writings of the Church Fathers, and the extant fragments have been published (*e.g.*, Field, *Origen's Hexapla*, Oxford, 1875). Origen not only prepared the way for a comparative study of these early texts but also revised the older Greek by the use of the Hebrew and the later Greek translations, especially that of Theodotion. Fortunately, he distinguished his later additions by asterisks. While the principles that he followed cannot be accepted to-day, Origen contributed much to the methods as well as to the equipment of the modern textual critic. His recension appears to have been widely used in Palestine. Its effect, however, was to introduce additional variations into the original Greek text.

Other recensions

A little later two other recensions appeared. One was prepared by Hesychius, and according to Jerome was current in Alexandria and Egypt. The other was the work of Lucian, who founded a school at Antioch, and in

311 A.D. died as a martyr. It was accepted in Antioch and Constantinople. It is valuable because it is evidently based on several variant versions, one of which was probably distinct from those found in Origen's *Hexapla*, and upon an older Hebrew text differing from and often superior to the present Massoretic text. Lucian evidently aimed judiciously to eliminate contradictions between the different readings, and to secure a lucid, smooth, complete translation.

The Vatican manuscripts

Fortunately, the existing Greek manuscripts are much older than the Hebrew. The four principal ones come from the fourth and fifth centuries. The chief is the *Codex Vaticanus* (B, referred to in the notes as *Gk.*). It represents only a recension, but the one which is supported by the greatest number of the best manuscripts and is therefore generally recognized as on the whole the closest representative of the original Greek translation of the Old Testament. The admirable new edition of this text, prepared by Professor Swete (Cambridge, 1900), inaugurates a new epoch in the history of Old Testament translations.

Other important manuscripts

Another important recension is represented by the *Codex Alexandrinus* (A, in the notes, *Gk. A*). Its readings are supported by another group of manuscripts. It appears to have been revised at many points so as to correspond to the accepted Hebrew. Much more important is Lucian's recension because it is based in part upon a Hebrew text older than any we now have. For the legal and historical books this has been tentatively restored by Lagarde on the basis of marginal readings of the *Syro-Hexaplar* and a group of cursive Greek manuscripts (19, 82, 93, 108, 118).

Other translations: Old Latin

As Christianity spread through the ancient world, it carried the old as well as the New Testament scriptures, and to meet the needs of foreign peoples translations were made into many different languages. Most of these were prepared on the basis of the Greek versions, since the early Christian scholars were usually not familiar with the Hebrew language. Of these the most ancient is probably the Old Latin version which was made in the second Christian century. It was evidently based on a Greek version older than that used by Origen and was current among the Christians of Northern Africa. Only fragments survive. These and the quotations from Cyprian and other Latin writers indicate that it contained many errors.

Latin Vulgate

Jerome's translation of the Old Testament marks a new epoch in the history of the versions, for not only was it made by the leading scholar of his age, but it was based on the then accepted Hebrew text, supplemented in difficult and doubtful passages by the readings of the different Greek versions, especially that of Symmachus. His work on the Old Testament was begun about 390 and completed in 404 A.D. Confronted by a version whose authority rested simply upon its merits and the reputation of the scholar who made it, the Latin Church rejected and opposed it for two centuries, clinging to the defective and corrupt Old Latin. But as is well known, by the seventh century it was generally accepted by the Western Church, became the basis of its later noble missionary activity, and in the end was raised to a position of despotic authority. The best manuscript of Jerome's translation (*Codex Amiatinus*) comes from the seventh century. The chief value of Jerome's

translation to textual criticism is that it aids in establishing the fourth century readings of the Massoretic text. Its admirable renderings are also very suggestive.

Syriac versions

The oldest Syriac translation (known as the *Peshitta*, the *Simple*, or popular version) was probably prepared by Jews at Edessa in the second or third Christian centuries. It was made from the Hebrew, which corresponds closely to the accepted Massoretic text, although at many points its readings originally or later have been modified by the influence of the Greek versions. In the sixth and seventh centuries Christian scholars made translations into the Syriac directly from the Greek. The chief critical use of the Syriac version is in restoring the Hebrew, but its usefulness is limited because the published texts do not always represent the oldest manuscripts.

The Targums

Translations were also made between the third and sixth centuries into Ethiopic, Coptic, Armenian, and Gothic, but only in the case of a few Old Testament books do they possess a critical value. The Targums, or Aramaic paraphrases of the Old Testament, which were used in the synagogues, represent the Jewish exegesis current in the early Christian centuries. Sometimes they assume or give literal translations of a Hebrew text slightly better than the accepted Massoretic edition.

Recovery of the basis of the Massoretic text

Thus in recovering the original texts of the Old Testament books we are practically dependent upon two great groups of witnesses. The first group goes back to the original of the accepted Massoretic text of the second century A.D. The chief witnesses are the ninth century Hebrew manuscripts, supplemented by the notes of the Massorites, the early Syriac version, Jerome's Vulgate, and the Targums, together with the independent translations of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion, and the Hebrew column in Origen's *Hexapla*. In general the testimony of the Hebrew manuscripts is strongest, but when these have suffered corruption, some one of the many translations may preserve the original and indicate the nature of the error. Frequently that which points to a sound text, deviating from the present Massoretic, is original, for the later copyists were always inclined to bring all versions into agreement with the Hebrew, and preserved a variant only when it rested on good authority.

Recovery of the earlier original of the pre-Christian Greek translations

The second group goes back to the original Greek translation, probably made in the case of Samuel and Kings before 200 B.C., and in the case of the other historical books a little later. The chief guide in recovering this is the *Codex Vaticanus*, the reading of which must be tested and corrected by the aid of the Alexandrian and Lucian texts, which may be regarded as separate recensions, and by the fragments of the Old Latin and Origen's *Hexapla*. Due allowance must be made for the influence of the later Hebrew version upon the Alexandrian, and for the tendency in the Lucian version to produce a smooth, complete text. The readings of the cursive manuscripts must also be considered.

Use of the Greek versions

In the great majority of cases the Massoretic Hebrew text may be followed unhesitatingly. Where there is practical agreement between the early Greek texts and they differ from the accepted Hebrew, their testimony is exceedingly strong. Even when some agree with the Hebrew, the agreement may be

due to a later harmonizer, and the variant Greek text may contain the original reading. In general the briefer text represents the earlier, for the tendency of later scribes was to expand. The Greek variant must also be retranslated into Hebrew and tested in the light of the context. Where the Massoretic text has obviously suffered corruption from any of the usual causes, or when it is not supported by its group of witnesses and the Greek on the other hand has a well-authenticated, consistent reading, the latter may be accepted as representing the pre-Christian and probably the original text. If it is confirmed by the corrected Massoretic reading, the evidence is conclusive. In some cases the data are not so decisive. Then the reading adopted must be the result of a careful judgment, based upon a consideration of all the possibilities of error and a weighing of the testimony of each of the important versions and the evidence of the parallels and context. The tendencies of each individual translation must also be noted. When all has been done, many passages remain in which absolute certainty is impossible. The time, however, has passed when any one text or version can be blindly followed and all others disregarded. The great foundations of faith, as established in the Bible, will not be moved, but patient, exact scholarship, careful judgment, better editing and deeper study of the existing texts, and the discovery of new manuscripts will give each succeeding generation a translation which will represent more and more exactly the original books written by Israel's inspired teachers more than two thousand years ago. With the aid of the printing press and photography critical scholars are rapidly putting into imperishable form the best that the past has given us. The future holds out the assured possibility of valuable discoveries. Thus, instead of leaving farther behind, each decade brings much nearer to the present the long-lost autograph copies.

THE HISTORY OF THE PROPHETIC SERMONS, EPISTLES AND APOCALYPSES

I

THE EVOLUTION OF THE PROPHET

The psychological basis of prophecy

THE true prophet rises above his age and race like a towering mountain peak piercing heaven itself and enveloped in the eternal mystery of divine revelation. He rests, however, squarely on earth, for common human experiences and needs are the basis of his work and teaching. In the light of comparative history and religion it is now possible to study his forerunners and to trace the different stages in his gradual evolution. The belief in the existence of supernatural beings who determine the destinies of man, and the desire to ascertain their will, were two of the earliest and most powerful motives in human history. According to the belief of primitive man, failure to act in accord with the divine will meant inevitable disaster. In the absence of modern scientific knowledge, every step of his life was beset by the haunting fear that some unexpected judgment might suddenly be meted out by an offended Deity. Ignorance was therefore fatal. On the other hand, to know and to do the will of the gods was the only sure way to success and happiness. With true intuition early man also firmly believed that the supreme power or powers in the universe were ready and able to reveal themselves to him. Hence the ancient world was ever seeking with passionate zeal for means and for men through whom the divine will could be definitely determined. This strong and universal craving is the psychological basis of true prophecy, as well as of all the kindred institutions that preceded it.

External means of ascertaining the divine will

In the earlier days, when man worshipped many spirits of earth and air and water, or later, when he conceived of the gods as superhuman beings, he believed in various external methods of revelation. Many natural phenomena and especially the variable and more remarkable forms were interpreted as the inarticulate voice of the spirits or gods. Thus the changing phases of the stars and clouds and the flight of birds were all noted with closest attention because they seemed to be messages from that realm above where popular belief fixed the abode of the immortals. Where totemistic cults survived, the actions of certain animals were supposed to have a divine import. The appearance of the entrails, and especially of the livers of beasts presented in sacrifice to the gods, was almost universally regarded as an index of the divine will. The belief that certain sacred trees at times gave audible expression to messages from the Deity was held even by the early Hebrews, as is illustrated by the story of the burning bush in Exodus and the

references to the famous diviner's oak near Shechem. Often a direct appeal was made to the Deity by means of the sacred arrows, by lot, or through some other form of ordeal. The diviner's cup also figures frequently, as in the Joseph stories. Ancestor-worship and the mystery of sleep and death gave rise to the belief that the spirits of the dead sometimes returned to disclose the secrets of the gods, as is well illustrated in the story of Saul's visit to the medium of Endor (I Sam. 28).

The earliest forerunners of the prophets

Nearly all these earlier and cruder popular methods of ascertaining the will of the beings who ruled the destinies of man required skilled interpreters to make clear the meaning of the obscure signs. Hence there arose a great host of augurs, soothsayers, astrologers, wizards, diviners, and necromancers; some knaves and some doubtless faithful to their light. They and the priests, who usually interpreted the omens and took charge of the sacred lot and oracles, were the earliest forerunners of the prophets. They were thus regarded by the author of Deuteronomy 18, who states that Moses and his prophetic successors were commissioned to take the place of these representatives of the older cults.

Revelations through the minds of men

As men's conceptions of the gods became more exalted and spiritual, belief in direct revelation through the human mind began to prevail. The mystery of dreams profoundly impressed even the savage. These strange mental pictures were almost universally regarded as messages of the spirits or gods to man. The interpreter of dreams was therefore looked upon as a spokesman of the Deity. Especially among the early Semites, as among the modern Arabs, all abnormal psychic states were regarded as evidence of divine possession. As with the whirling and howling dervishes to-day, artificial means were often used to induce a half-insane condition that the Deity might speak through the mind thus freed from the control of the individual will. Men or women who were subject to these attacks of ecstasy have always been venerated in the East. Similar phenomena are still common in the revival services of certain Christian sects, and especially among the negroes of America. In ancient Greece the Pythian priestess, under the influence of poisonous gases that exhaled from the earth, was thrown into an ecstatic state. Her frenzied, incoherent utterances were interpreted by the *prophetes* (προφήτης), the one who spoke in behalf of the god. This title, transferred into English, has become the common and appropriate designation of the noblest interpreters and heralds of God's will to men.

The prophetic element in ancient Babylonia

The religious history of the different nations of antiquity clearly demonstrates that the great prophets did not arise except amidst certain favorable conditions. The ancient Babylonians, with their intense political, social, and commercial life, had little time for contemplation and visions. Their religion also became, at a comparatively early period, formal and ceremonial. Law, not the spirit, ruled. The result was that they apparently had no great prophets. Hammurabi and his ancient code represent in many ways the high-water mark of Babylonian religion. Dreams were regarded as significant; but otherwise the crude, primitive, external methods of determining the will of the gods through their diviners, augurs, and astrologers, the priestly inspectors of the sacrificial offerings, and the interpreters of the

flights of birds, of the movements of the stars, and of other signs, continued to hold undisputed sway.

In Egypt

Nearly the same conditions obtained among the Egyptians. The priests interpreted the oracles. Only the Pharaoh himself was supposed to consult the gods. Popular interest was also fixed on the life beyond death rather than in the present and immediate future. There are, however, several striking exceptions to this prevailing low level of mechanical formalism. From the period of the remarkable twelfth dynasty (2000-1788 B.C.) comes a prediction delivered in the presence of a king by a prophet named Ipuwer. It first tells of the coming overthrow of existing political and social conditions by foreign foes, and then proclaims the advent of a benign king who would deliver his land and people. Of him men would say, *He is the shepherd of all the people; there is no evil in his heart. If his flocks go astray he will spend the day to search for them. The thought of men shall be aflame; would that he might achieve their rescue! . . . Verily he shall smite evil when he raises his arm against it.** Similar Sibylline prophecies appeared at times in Egypt's later history, but there is no evidence that they made any deep impression upon that ancient life and religion. More effective, although ephemeral, was the truly prophetic reformation instituted by Amenhotep IV. The fact that its influence passed away so quickly and completely only proves that the dominant forces in Egypt's religion were ceremonial rather than ethical and spiritual.

Among the Canaanites and Phœnicians

The sources of information regarding the religion of the ancient Canaanites are still exceedingly meagre. The references in the Old Testament to the religious practices of the peoples which the Hebrews found in the land indicate that the various external methods of ascertaining the will of the gods were in vogue in Palestine. The moral degeneracy, the wealth and luxury, and the prominence of sacrifice and ritual prevented the development of a spiritual religion among the Canaanites and Phœnicians. Hence there is no evidence or probability that any great prophets ever arose among them. The narrative of a certain Wenamon, sent to the court of Zakar-Baal, king of Byblos about 1100 B.C., in the years following the decline of Egyptian supremacy in Palestine, contains the earliest reference to Syrian prophecy. As the Egyptian emissary was being contemptuously sent away, one of the noble youths in attendance upon the king was seized with a divine frenzy, and in prophetic ecstasy demanded that Wenamon be summoned, honorably treated, and dismissed.† To this same class, doubtless, belonged the so-called *prophets of Baal*, who, in the famous contest between Jehovah and Baal on Mount Carmel, are represented as dancing about the altar, cutting themselves with swords and lances until they had worked themselves up into a delirium of frenzy (I Kgs. 18 $^{26\text{-}29}$). Their character and rôle appears to be very similar to that of the modern dervish.

In ancient Persia and Greece

The prophetic *motif* may also be traced among the early Aryan races. Zoroaster, the prophet of Iran, was the founder of a distinctly ethical and spiritual religion. The most complete, although not the closest parallels to

* Breasted, *History of Egypt*, 204-5.
† Breasted, *History of Egypt*, 513.

prophecy in early Israel are found in ancient Greece. External methods of divination, such as speaking trees and omens, survived; but, side by side with these, the more spiritual forms of revelation were highly developed. Reference has already been made to the oracles in which the frenzied priestess and the *prophetes* figured. The Bacchantes corresponded to the dervishes of oriental religions. Dreams were regarded as messages of the gods. Both prophets and prophetesses were familiar characters in early Greek life. Corresponding to the great prophets of Israel's history were the immortal Greek poets and philosophers, whose writings dealt, as did those of the Hebrew statesmen and theologians, not only with vital questions of the day, but with the eternal problems of religion and ethics. The literary form and theology of the two groups of teachers were very different, but their aim, spirit, and fundamental messages were in the ultimate analysis very similar.

The desert the home of prophecy

The direct forerunners of the Hebrew prophets are to be found, however, not among the ancient Babylonians or Canaanites, but, as might be anticipated, among the Arabian ancestors and neighbors of the Israelites. The peculiar life of the desert favored the development of the prophet. Its monotony and the long marches and watching by night fostered contemplation. The constant sense of mystery and danger tended to develop a strong belief in supernatural powers and an eager longing for assurances of their favor and protection. The susceptibility of the Arab to mental excitement and the prevailing belief that all abnormal psychic states were due to the influence of spirits or gods created an atmosphere favorable to prophecy. The keen religious intuitions, the fanatical zeal, and the highly developed poetic instincts of the dwellers in or near the wilderness furnished the soil from which sprang prophets like Moses, Balaam, Elijah, Amos, and Mohammed.

Kâhins among the early Arabs

The *kâhin*, like the corresponding Hebrew priests (*kohēn*), was originally the minister of the sanctuary and guardian of the oracle. Often there was found, however, among the Arabs a *kâhin* who was believed to be possessed of a demon or spirit. When seeing visions he usually covered his head, and hence is often styled the *man with the veil*. These ancient *kâhins* were consulted on a great variety of subjects in which there was doubt in the public mind. Sometimes it was to determine the outcome of a battle; often they were called upon to decide the innocence or guilt of one charged with a crime, such as adultery; and sometimes they even encouraged conspiritors to attack a ruler.* For their services they usually received a gift from those who consulted them.

Form of their messages

Their oracular utterances were given in poetic form, and consisted of from four to six short, rhyming sentences bound together into a paragraph or period. Their expressions were often obscure and admitted of a double interpretation. Like the Hebrew prophets, they spoke not in their own name, but directly in the first person as the herald of the god. The names of many famous *kâhins*, both male and female, who lived in the period preceding the advent of Mohammed, have been preserved and their influence upon their age and race was often far-reaching. Although Mohammed did not grant

* Cf. Wellhausen, *Reste Arabischen Heidenthums*, 136.

that he was a mere *kâhin*, he was, in fact, the noblest representative of that order. A few others appeared later, but the work of the great prophet of Islam, and the Koran, which recorded the laws and commands that he promulgated, rendered the ancient *kâhin* unnecessary. As in later Judaism, the written law and the legal scribe in time took the place of the prophetic oracle and the divine herald.

The immediate predecessors of the prophets

The most significant figures, therefore, in that ancient Semitic life that lies back of the beginnings of Hebrew history were the *kâhins* or seers, who were believed to possess divine knowledge, revealed to them not through objective, mechanical means or another's frenzied utterances, but directly from the Deity. They were often men of wide experience, keen insight, and probably genuine spiritual intuitions. In the long line of interpreters of divine truth they rank next to the great prophets. The difference between the self-deceived or deceiving diviners, augurs, astrologers, and necromancers of the primitive cults and the true prophets of Israel is as great as that between darkness and light; and yet the same innate, universal human needs, the same beliefs, and the same God, eager to reveal his truth to men, called forth each. They represent, together with the *kâhins* or seers, the successive rounds in the ladder which, as in Jacob's dream, reached from earth to heaven.

II

THE PROPHETS IN ISRAEL'S EARLY HISTORY

The three early designations of the prophets

In connection with the account of Saul's first meeting with Samuel is found the statement: *He who is now called a prophet was previously called a rô'ēh* (commonly translated *a seer*). This passage is usually interpreted as evidence that the functions of the ancient prophet were practically identical with those of the *rô'ēh*, and that the difference was simply one of popular terminology. It is significant, however, that in the early sections of the books of Samuel three distinct terms are used to describe Israel's early religious guides. Samuel is designated as the *rô'ēh*, Gad is the royal *ḥôzĕh*, and Nathan is the *nâbî* or prophet. The care with which these terms are used suggests that originally there was a clear distinction between them.

Character and functions of the *rô'ēh*

A recent writer has called attention to the fact that Samuel's distinctive title, *rô'ēh*, is possibly equivalent to the Babylonian *bârû*, a title of the divining priest.* His duty was, originally, to inspect the entrails and especially the liver of the sacrificial victim, and, in accordance with a definitely worked-out system, to answer, on the basis of what he saw, the questions which were put to him. It is significant that the older as well as the later biblical traditions connect Samuel closely with the sanctuaries and the sacrifices of ancient Israel. According to the oldest tradition in I Samuel 9, the people of Ramah were waiting for Samuel to come before they could begin their sacrificial meal. It is also evident from the statement of Saul's servant (I Sam. 9^8) that, like the divining priests of Babylonia, Samuel enjoyed the reputation of being able to settle questions not only of public but also of private interest, and that for this service he usually received some gift. Illustrations of Samuel's divining power are also found in the first part of the tenth chapter of I Samuel. The term *rô'ēh* comes from the Hebrew word meaning to *see*, or to *look*, and if it originally described the priestly diviner, who answered questions put to him by looking upon the sacrificial victims or by other objective signs, which the ancients regarded as revelations from the Deity, the reason is clear why it early fell into disuse among the Hebrews.

Of the *ḥôzĕh* or seer

The Hebrew word *ḥôzĕh* comes from the verb meaning to *gaze*. In the Arabic it is used only of seeing a vision. The ancient *kâhin* was also frequently designated by a title derived from the same root as the Hebrew word *ḥôzĕh*. In light of these facts and of its usage elsewhere in the Old Testament, it would seem clear that the word is best translated into English by the word *seer* or *gazer*. It survived in later Hebrew literature as a practical synonym of the word *nâbî* (prophet). Possibly in ancient times the *ḥôzĕh* or seer re-

* Jastrow. Journ. of Bib. Lit., XXVIII, 42–56.

ceived his divine message through objective means, as, for example, the flight of birds or the movements of the stars, but in later days he is conceived of as the man with a vision, the one who receives his message either through a dream or trance or his inner consciousness. In the days of David, Gad is described as the king's *ḥôzëh* or seer, while Nathan is called a *nâbî* or prophet. It is also significant that both of these men figure in public rather than private life, and are the recognized authoritative advisers of the king.

Derivation of *nâbî*

Unfortunately the derivation of the word *nâbî* or prophet is uncertain. In its later Hebrew usage it is practically equivalent to *speaker* or *proclaimer*. The original word from which it was derived was probably connected either with the Hebrew word meaning to *bubble forth*, or with the Assyrian word *nabû*, to *tear away*, lead forcibly, and hence to *be carried away by divine frenzy*. In either case the word recalls the ecstatic, frenzied method in which the primitive prophets received and proclaimed their message.

Later Hebrew conception of the prophet

In its later Hebrew usage, however, this early implication of frenzied utterance had entirely disappeared; for the great prophets, like Isaiah and Jeremiah, speak calmly and logically, although with deep feeling and earnestness. In an important passage in Numbers $12^{6\text{-}8}$, in connection with the description of Moses, is found a clear statement of the Hebrew belief regarding the method by which the true prophet received his message:

> If there be a prophet among you,
> In a vision do I make myself known to him,
> In a dream do I speak to him.
> Not so with my servant Moses;
> In all my house he is faithful.
> Mouth to mouth do I speak with him,
> Plainly and not in enigmas.

The priestly author of Exodus 7^{1} has also clearly illustrated the later Hebrew conception of the word prophet, for when Moses declared to Jehovah that he was not skilled in speaking, he received the answer: *See, I have made thee as a god to Pharaoh, and Aaron, thy brother, shall be thy prophet.* The prophet, therefore, was simply the speaker for God to men, the one who proclaimed and interpreted the divine will in the light of the needs and conditions of his age.

Real character and aims of the Hebrew prophets

The other designations of the prophets, *men of God, servants of Jehovah, messengers of Jehovah*, and *watchmen*, but confirm the same fundamental conception of the functions of the prophets. Having seen clearly, they felt a divine compulsion to speak faithfully and truly; they were men both of insight and of action. They were not without interest in the future, for in the future they hoped to see the full realization of those noble ideals which they constantly held up before their contemporaries; but they were primarily men of their own day, seeing conditions as they were and seeking by every practical means to influence their fellow-countrymen to do the will of God. Their primary function was to proclaim principles, but the sphere of their activity was not limited to the setting forth of spiritual and ethical truths. Everything which concerned the life of the nation was recognized by them as of real religious import. Hence the great Hebrew prophets of the later days were

not only theologians and ethical teachers, but also social reformers, statesmen, and men of affairs. By their own personal activity and influence, as well as by word of mouth, they sought to make their exalted ideals effective in the life of the nation.

Reason why the prophets were so prominent in Israel's history

Undoubtedly the most significant fact in Israel's history was the presence and activity of the prophets. The record of their work and influence makes that history unique and the Old Testament, which records it, a book of authority worthy of a place beside the New. Hence the question of why the prophet played such an important rôle in Israel's national life is of profound interest to the student of religion. The fundamental reason is found in Israel's remarkable experiences as a nation. From the first it was confronted with a series of grave political, social, and religious crises which furnished the background and inspiration for the work of the great prophets. It is noteworthy that a prophet never appeared in Israel's history unless there was some great national, social, or moral need, and conversely, there was never a great crisis which did not call forth a prophet or prophetess.

Character and call of Moses

Israel's national life opened with a supreme crisis in the land of Egypt, and the father of the nation was Moses, its first great prophet. Later Jewish tradition transformed Moses into a mere lawgiver and thereby obscured the real nature of his work. Early prophets, however, like Hosea, recognized and declared that by a prophet Jehovah led his nation Israel from the land of Egypt. Back of the many traditions that have gathered about him, there was evidently a man who, with true prophetic insight, fully appreciated the needs of his people in Egypt, and the necessity for united action, for leadership, and, above all, for the protecting guidance of a strong Deity. In Moses' desert experience there came to him, through his Midianite kinsman, and even more directly, as the spirit of God touches that of man, a vision of Jehovah as a God of justice and power able and willing to deliver the oppressed. This vision of Jehovah's character and the needs of his people constituted Moses' call. The patriot and seer became the man of action and therefore a prophet.

Nature of his prophetic work

The familiar events of early Hebrew history are the proofs of Moses' work as a prophet. In the minds of his fellow-Hebrews their signal deliverance from Egypt confirmed the truth of his message. Amidst the hardships and dangers of the wilderness their prophet-leader was also able to impress upon the minds of his people their obligations to the God who had delivered them, and through this sense of obligation to develop that national consciousness which kept the race intact amidst the disintegrating influences that came to it during the succeeding centuries. As counsellor and judge he taught his followers the principles which became the foundations of Israel's later faith and institutions. There is, necessarily, much uncertainty about the real work of Moses; but it is clear that he was both a seer and a man of action, who towered high above his contemporaries and who stamped his own inspired convictions upon the consciousness of his race.

Deborah

The second great crisis in Israel's history came during the period of the settlement, when the Canaanites had formed a coalition under Sisera and were making a united effort to subjugate the Hebrews. The faith as well as the independence of Israel was at stake. At this crucial moment the

prophtess Deborah rose to deliver the people. She not only appreciated the needs of the situation, but was able to appeal to that common faith and obligation to Jehovah which was the only force binding together the scattered Hebrew clans at this pioneer period in their history. In her grasp of the situation and in her ability to act and to inspire action, Deborah showed herself a true successor of Moses and a forerunner of the great statesmen prophets like Isaiah.

The Philistine crisis

The third great crisis in Israel's history arose when the powerful Philistines in the southwest of Palestine had succeeded in defeating the armies of Israel and in establishing their rule over the Hebrews. Again the faith and very life of the nation were in danger. The situation called for leadership and organization. Already the blended patriotism and popular devotion to Jehovah had begun to find vehement though crude expression in the prophetic guilds. Their members, who were known as *the sons of the prophets*, now for the first time emerge into prominence in Israel's history. These groups of religious enthusiasts gathered about the ancient sanctuaries. Their zeal was expressed in music, in song, and frenzy. Their external kinship with the similar prophetic guilds among the Phœnicians was probably close; but in the light of later references it would appear that at this crisis they represented a definite protest against existing conditions, and they were probably active in their opposition to all that threatened the honor of Jehovah through the subjugation of his people.

Samuel's prophetic service

Probably in partial sympathy with them but superior to them stands Samuel, the so-called *rô'ēh* of Ramah. In the light of the oldest sources it appears that his reputation was but local, depending chiefly upon his ability to answer questions of personal interest which were referred to him. The great crisis, however, transformed the *rô'ēh* into a *nâbî*. With true prophetic insight, he appreciated Israel's need of a leader, and himself inspired the young Benjamite Saul with a commanding ambition to deliver his people and to become their king. Tradition, therefore, is right in recognizing in Samuel the great significant figure of this period and the real father of the Hebrew kingdom.

Character of the early prophets

The references to Gad and Nathan in the courts of David and Solomon reveal the presence of other prophetic characters at this stirring period in Israel's national development. They are, however, statesmen, royal counsellors, and official seers, rather than great solitary figures, like Moses, Samuel, and Amos, who stood above rulers and people, acknowledging allegiance to but one Ruler, and freely and fearlessly proclaiming at some great crisis the mandates of that Divine King.

The division of the empire

It is also to be noted that at the next great crisis, the division of the Hebrew empire, which destroyed its political strength but saved the rights of the people from Solomon's despotic policy, the prophets encouraged and upheld the action of the northern tribes.

The crisis in the days of Elijah

The same devotion to Jehovah and to the rights of the individual are revealed in the popular stories which gather about the name of Elijah. Ahab, in his zeal to build up the material glory of the northern kingdom, had made an alliance with the commercial Phœnicians, and that alliance involved tolera-

tion of the worship of the god of Tyre within the territory of Israel. It also brought in the person of Jezebel, the daughter of the Tyrian king Ethbaal (a former priest of Baal), a strong dominating spirit devoted to the extension of the worship of her national god. The adoption of Canaanitish institutions and religious ideas, together with the civilization of the land, had made easy the popular identification of Jehovah with the Baal of the land of Israel. The allurements of the debased Canaanitish cults were almost irresistible. The policy of Ahab, therefore, and the popular tendency of the day threatened to undermine that simple faith in Jehovah which the people had brought with them from the desert.

Elijah's work

It was Elijah, the man from the desert, who alone fully appreciated this danger and fearlessly appealed to the conscience of the king and people. Stalwart, clad in the rough mantle of the Arab, he was a striking figure in any age. Impetuous, uncompromising, and courageous in the presence of open danger, he was a worthy representative of the God of the early Hebrews. In his illuminating analysis of the consequences of the Tyrian alliance and in his ringing call to the nation to choose between Jehovah and Baal, Elijah made an impression upon the minds of the Israelites which they never forgot. He also stood as the champion of the rights of the people against Ahab's despotic policy revealed in the incident of Naboth's vineyard. Elijah himself did not live to see the overthrow of the Tyrian Baalism or the fall of the house of Ahab. Other men and measures were required to complete the work which he initiated; but under the direction of his disciple Elisha and the influence of aroused public opinion a great reform swept over Northern Israel during the next half-century.

Achievements and limitations of the early prophets

The bloody reformation of Jehu reflected the fierce zeal of Elijah; but the disasters which followed in the wake of that revolution revealed the limitations of the earlier prophets who conceived of Jehovah simply as Israel's national God. They appealed to the patriotism of their hearers rather than to the higher ethical sense. They achieved their ends through diplomacy more than by the gradual education of the public conscience. They were instrumental in building a nation, rearing an empire, and making and unmaking dynasties, and in leading Israel safely through its early crises. They were worthy successors of the early seers; but for the further development of Israel's faith a higher type of prophets was needed—prophets who could analyze still more deeply the sources of the nation's strength and weakness, who could present a nobler and more ethical conception of Jehovah, and who could guide their race through still greater crises to a serene trust in God.

III

THE PROPHETS OF THE ASSYRIAN PERIOD

Influence of Assyrian conquests upon Israel's faith

The sixth great crisis in Israel's history came when the invincible armies of Assyria began to move westward against the petty states along the eastern shores of the Mediterranean. Its advance was so gradual and halting that few statesmen in Palestine realized the magnitude of the peril. The appearance of this world power in Palestine, however, inaugurated a new epoch in the history of prophecy. As Assyria drew nearer, conquering in the name of its god Ashur nation after nation, the ancient Hebrew belief that Jehovah was invincible and that he would never give over his people as a prey to a heathen power was forever shattered. Instead there came into the minds of a few prophetic souls, who faced the facts fairly and appreciated the significance of Israel's peril, a vision of a God who ruled impartially and without rival over all nations.

Political, social and religious conditions in Northern Israel

On the eve of the Assyrian period (750–630 B.C.), however, a dangerous overconfidence filled the minds of the leaders of the two Hebrew kingdoms. The Assyrian attacks had weakened the power of their old foes, the Arameans, and left both Northern and Southern Israel free during the middle of the eighth century B.C., to develop their rich national resources The turn in the tide of battle also brought to them the spoils of victory. Commerce sprang up with the neighboring nations. With foreign products came alien customs, fashions, and ideals. The Aramean wars and the conflicts between the two Hebrew kingdoms had rested most heavily upon the middle class in Israel, so that many of them were on the verge of poverty or else had fallen into debt, with its inevitable consequence in the Semitic world—slavery. The result was that only the rich and those who stood close to the throne were in a position to profit by the favorable turn in the national fortune. The rich grew richer, the powerful still more powerful. The masses by contrast became poorer and more dependent. The wealthy also sought homes in the cities or capital, where they vied with each other in their luxury and display, forgetful of their needy dependents who toiled for them on their great estates. Thus the two Hebrew kingdoms suddenly lost that great middle class, which had hitherto been the source of their strength and that democracy which had been the chief glory of the Hebrew commonwealth. The baneful effects of the close and prolonged contact with the degenerate Canaanitish civilization and cults also became sadly apparent, especially in the northern kingdom. The sanctity of the home was destroyed; immorality was prevalent in the high places and even under the shadow of the sanctuary. Dishonesty was practised in the public mart, and the corrupt leaders of the nation found refuge and a false confidence in the shadow of an elaborate ceremonial.

Amos's shepherd training

The great pioneer prophet of this new era was born in the little town of Tekoa, twelve miles southeast of Jerusalem. His home was surrounded by the gray, rolling, limestone hills which extend down to the shores of the Dead Sea. Here the Judean shepherd Amos guarded the flocks of sheep and goats, ever watchful against the attacks of the wild animals which lurked near by, eager to spring upon the helpless animals placed in his charge. His life and environment made him rugged and strong of limb, a lover of nature, and a keen observer of life. His shepherd training gave him a high conception of the duty of those placed in a position of responsibility, especially toward the needy and dependent in their care. It also made him brave and fearless in repelling the attacks of those who prey upon the helpless.

His outlook upon life

The scene of Amos's youthful training lay midway between the settled civilization of Canaan and the unchanging life of the desert. His occupation, doubtless, took him to the great market-places of central Israel, where, with his keen insight, he was able to study the strength and weakness of both the northern and the southern kingdoms. Viewed from the point of view of the desert, the false confidence, the cruelty, the injustice and the vice which he found rampant, especially in the north, were revealed in their true character. On the other hand, Amos was in close touch with the faith of the desert and of Moses, with that religion which was intolerant of ritual and with that type of life which regarded rulers and centralized authority with suspicion.

How his message came to him

Accustomed as he was to watch constantly for the approach of dangerous foes, he saw from afar the approach of Assyria and the terrible consequences, when once this distant, lurking lion should fall upon the fair northern kingdom. Experience had taught him that for every effect there was a corresponding cause. As he sought for the reason why calamity was about to overtake Israel, the significance of its corrupt life was fully revealed to him. The impending doom was no accident, but inevitable because of the nation's crimes. One of the dramatic visions with which he illustrated his message suggests the way in which the truth dawned upon him:

> Thus the Lord showed me,
> And behold the Lord was standing
> Beside a wall, with a plumb-line in his hand.
> And Jehovah said to me,
> What dost thou see, Amos?
> And I answered, A plumb-line.
> Then the Lord said, Behold, I am setting a plumb-line
> In the midst of my people Israel.
> I will not again pass by them any more.
> And the high places of Isaac shall be desolate,
> The sanctuaries of Israel shall be laid waste,
> And I will rise up against the house of Jereboam with the sword.

His prophetic call

As he meditated upon the situation its meaning crystallized into a certainty. Having once seen the danger, his shepherd training and instincts did not allow him to remain silent. It was thus that the prophetic call came to Amos. His own words are illuminating:

Surely the Lord Jehovah doeth nothing,
Unless he revealeth his purpose to his servant the prophet.
The lion has roared; who does not hear?
The Lord Jehovah hath spoken; who can but prophesy?

The delivery of his message

Having received his call, Amos did not hesitate. With shepherd's staff in hand, he proceeded to Bethel, the royal sanctuary of the north. There, before the leaders of the nation assembled on a great feast-day, he tactfully but unhesitatingly denounced their crimes and proclaimed those exalted principles which are the foundation of all true ethics and religion. Behind the calm, cold, irresistible logic with which he laid bare the rottenness and corruption of the northern kingdom was a heart burning with zeal to save this nation from the fate which threatened. In his note of certainty there is also revealed the conviction that his eyes had been opened to the truth by none other than God himself, and that he was directly commissioned by the Highest to interpret the divine will to the men of his day.

Hosea's character

Very different in character and call was Amos's contemporary, Hosea. He was evidently a native of Northern Israel, and a citizen of one of its cities, if not of the capital itself. He was of well-known family, and was intimately acquainted with the policy of the court and with the ambitions and follies of the ruling classes. Unlike the rough shepherd who had been educated in the school of experience, Hosea was familiar with the growing literature of his race. He was of a poetic temperament, a man not of logic but of deep emotion. He spoke not as the stern critic but as the passionate lover of his land and people.

The tragedy of his domestic life

In the opening chapters of his prophecy, Hosea throws back the veil and reveals those incidents in his domestic life which were important in his training as a prophet. Like Isaiah and Jeremiah, he interprets his early experience in the light of his later knowledge. That later knowledge had revealed the true character of Gomer, the daughter of Diblaim, who had commanded his youthful affections. As the years went on his awful suspicion that his wife was not faithful to the love which he bestowed so freely is reflected in the names which he gave to his children. "Unpitied" and "Not-my-people" suggested condemnation and rejection because of infidelity, and Hosea's interpretation of these names, as symbols of Jehovah's rejection of guilty Israel, confirm this implication. In these earliest oracles Hosea also shows himself to be a disciple of Amos. The note which he strikes is harsh and judicial.

The triumph of love

Only when, following the long-established Semitic custom, he had banished his unfaithful wife from his home, did he realize the depth of his love for her. In the words of the prophet the divine prompting came to him:

Still go, love this woman,
Who loves a paramour and is an adultress,
As Jehovah loveth the Israelites,
Although they turn to other gods.

Then he tells us that he bought her back at the price of a slave and said to her:

Many days shalt thou abide for me,
Thou shalt not play the harlot
And thou shalt not be any man's wife.
Yet I, on my part, will be thine

Thus by loving discipline he sought to lead his erring wife to a full appreciation of her guilt and through penitence and deep contrition prepare the way for that reconciliation for which he longed.

Fundamental truths which his experience taught him

As Hosea looked back upon his tragic experience he realized that, as has been nobly expressed by Dean Plumptre in his poem *Gomer*:

Through all the mystery of my years,
There runs a purpose which forbids of the wail
Of passionate despair. I have not lived
At random, as a soul whom God forsakes;
But evermore his spirit led me on,
Prompted each purpose, taught my lips to speak,
Stirred up within me that deep love, and now
Reveals the inner secret.

Out of the depths of his own experiences Hosea caught clear glimpses of those eternal principles which are the foundations of his teaching, as well as of all practical religion. Because his love was so strong even for his unfaithful wife, he appreciated, as had no man before, the agony in the divine heart because of the sins of his people. Also he learned the supreme necessity of disciplining the sinner, when mere kindness fails to arouse contrition. With enlightened vision he realized that, in the presence of defiant wrong-doing, justice and punishment are the highest expressions of love. He also learned to appreciate God's readiness and yearning to forgive the truly penitent sinner. Thus in divine providence Hosea's own personal experience and the light which it shed upon the character and acts of his beloved nation made him a prophet and prepared his mind to grasp those eternal and universal principles which are the essence of his prophetic message.

His work as a prophet

Unceasingly, sometimes with broken sobs, he appealed not only to the reason and the conscience, but also to the heart of his countrymen. His words are the words of a patriot who was able to look beyond the issues of the moment and to see the consequences of the policies which were then so popular. For at least half a decade he labored unceasingly by warning, exhortation, and promise to save his nation from its evil tendencies and to prepare it to meet the Assyrian crisis. To a patriot-prophet like Hosea his ministry was one long martyrdom, for fidelity to truth compelled him to proclaim the certainty of that national tragedy which the failure of his countrymen to hear made inevitable. His voice was scarcely silenced before, in 734 B.C., the northern territory of Israel was overrun by Assyrian armies and made a part of the great empire. A little later, in 722 B.C., Samaria and the remaining territory of Israel suffered the same fate. That overwhelming catastrophe which Amos and Hosea had clearly foreseen then became a reality.

The crisis in Judah

While Hosea was still preaching his earnest sermons to the people of Northern Israel, similar crises and problems came to the southern kingdom. The long reign of Uzziah had brought to little Judah extension of territory, prosperity, and foreign commerce. Through the channels of trade heathen customs and ideas had penetrated even to Jerusalem itself. Luxury and greed had taken the place of the ancient simplicity. As Northern Israel rushed headlong to its ruin, the last barrier was removed which protected Judah from the Assyrian invader. Men of rare insight and wisdom and faith were needed to guide the nation through the dangers which threatened from within and without. At this critical moment the death of King Uzziah, in 740 B.C., left the direction of affairs in weak hands, so that Judah's destiny hung in the balance.

The young patriot Isaiah

It was at this time that a young Hebrew, a citizen of Jerusalem, went up to worship at the temple. His later activity and utterances indicate that he was a man of rare energy and force, intimately acquainted with the court and leaders of the nation. He was also a student of Israel's past and present history, and was inspired by a noble, unselfish purpose. For half a century he was active in the public life of Judah, so that on the memorable year when he went up to the temple at Jerusalem he was still probably but a youth, full of enthusiasm and noble ideals. The wonderful description which he has given of his call in the sixth chapter of his prophecy indicates that already he was meditating upon the alarming conditions in the nation, and was fully awake to the crying need for patriots able to think truly and to speak courageously and to act wisely in behalf of the state.

His temple vision

In language which reminds us strongly of Jesus' illuminating description of the great experience which marked the beginning of his ministry, Isaiah tells how he became a prophet. Amidst the suggestive symbolism of the temple he suddenly became aware of the presence and true character of him whom his countrymen worshipped blindly and from afar. Above the sanctuary, with its half heathen rites, Jehovah seemed to rise majestic, holy, surrounded by seraphim, the heavenly beings who symbolized absolute purity. In the presence of this vision Isaiah's own impurity and the guilt of his nation were revealed in all their hideousness. But to Isaiah, who saw his guilt and openly confessed it, there quickly came a sense of divine forgiveness and cleansing. With this clarified vision of Jehovah's character and the needs of his nation also came the call to take up the arduous duties of a prophet, to be the spokesman of Jehovah, the champion of righteousness to an unappreciative but needy generation.

Its effect upon his life and teachings

It is clear that Isaiah's vision of Jehovah's majesty and holiness on the one side and the needs of his nation on the other represented primarily a heightening of his powers of perception and volition, for there came to his lips the quick response, *Here, Lord, send me.* When Isaiah went forth from the temple, the world was richer because a new prophet had entered upon his life-work. His vision of Jehovah, majestic and holy, henceforth inspired his every sermon. In the earlier period of his activity he addressed himself to correcting those social evils and the heathen influences and the pride and false confidence of the people which, in his thought, stood in glaring contrast to Jehovah's

majesty and holiness. In each of the great political crises which came to Judah during Isaiah's lifetime, he sought to instil in their minds such a strong faith in Jehovah's benign and overruling providence that they would escape the errors and feverish acts which threatened the life of the state.

His life-work

Isaiah is pre-eminently the statesman-prophet. No one else in Palestine knew so well the political situation and could estimate with such unerring accuracy the strength of different parties and forces. Through the varying political crises he calmly and with that conviction which comes only from the grasp of eternal principles and an intimate touch with him who rules the universe, offered counsels which, though usually rejected, were shown by later events to have been supremely wise and true. He also, by act as well as by word, gave to the world a new and nobler definition of patriotism. He refused to be governed by the dictates of party or public opinion, when these were manifestly wrong. He was hampered by no racial prejudices. He taught that righteousness alone exalts a nation, and that the ideal city or state can be attained only as each individual citizen gives unreservedly of his time, thought, and service to the commonweal.

Micah's training and preaching

Isaiah's youthful contemporary Micah echoed the social teachings of the great statesman-prophet. In spirit and character he was much like Amos. His home was among the western foot-hills of Judah, near the old Philistine town of Gath, and commanded a view over the western coast plain along which ran the great avenues of commerce, and over which the invading armies from the north approached Judah and Jerusalem. Although he appears to have been only a peasant farmer, his environment and occupation made him, like Amos, a watchman on the outlook for distant danger. The occasion of his sermons appears to have been the approach of the armies of Sennacherib, just before the great crisis of 701 B.C. The approaching danger impelled him, as a patriot, to sound the note of alarm and to point out clearly those evils in the nation which meant weakness and destruction in the hour of peril. He was silent regarding the political issues of his day, and devoted himself to condemning the social wrongs which he found rampant in Jerusalem. With a boldness and bluntness which is unsurpassed in the history of prophecy, he denounced to their face the heartless rulers of Judah. As he contrasted his own spirit with that of the false prophets, he also declared :

> I, on the contrary, am full of power,
> And the sense of justice and strength,
> To make known to Jacob his crime,
> And to Israel his sin.

Results of his work

Micah appears to have been one of the few prophets of Judah who saw the immediate fruits of his efforts. From one of the later narratives regarding Jeremiah we learn that Hezekiah and his people were deeply impressed by the sermons of this blunt peasant-prophet and forthwith instituted a reform. It is also indicative of the effectiveness of his work that in the sermons of the prophets of the next generation the social evils which Micah so fiercely attacked receive less and less attention.

Nahum's prophecy

Nahum, the last prophet to deal with the great problems which Assyria's conquest brought to the small province of Judah, is little more than a voice calling across the centuries. Of his life practically nothing is known. Master of a powerful literary style, he sings a song of triumph over the approaching fall of the cruel world power which had brought pain and woe to the many peoples of southwestern Asia. The prophet himself was probably a native of Judah, and he reflects the spirit of his day and nation. He raised his voice because he saw in Assyria's fall the convincing evidence of the justice of Jehovah's world-wide rule.

Characteristics of the prophets of the Assyrian period

As one compares the five great prophets of the Assyrian period with those of an earlier age, many obvious points of likeness appear. Their outlook, however, was far broader and their contact with life much deeper. At last the Hebrew prophets had left their mountain heights and thrown off the veil of the ancient seer to grapple directly and practically with the vital problems of their age. They were not only men of their day, but men who lived among men. The seers had become statesmen, social reformers, and ethical teachers, as well as heralds of a broader and nobler conception of Jehovah. They rejected the false national optimism which blinded rulers and people, and in the presence of existing evils proclaimed a message which, perforce, was one of doom. And yet no one can study them carefully and fail to see that they were the most intelligent and most unselfish patriots of their age. They not only saw facts as they were, but also, under the influence of the divine spirit working through their minds, grasped those eternal principles which must forever guide the life of nations, and with supreme courage and effectiveness proclaimed these truths to their own and all succeeding ages.

IV

THE PROPHETS OF JUDAH'S DECLINE

The popular reaction against the prophetic teaching

THE teaching of the prophets of the Assyrian period proved too austere and exalted for the people of Judah. After the death of Isaiah the nation, under the misguidance of the weak king Manasseh, went back to the old heathenism. In their radical reaction from the high ideals that had been held up before them, the Judahites also adopted to a great extent the religion of their conquerors, the Assyrians. The sun and moon and heavenly bodies, worshipped from the house-tops, and even under the shadow of Jehovah's temple, were none other than the deities of the ancient Babylonians. The true prophets of Jehovah were either silenced or else suffered martyrdom for their loyalty to Jehovah, and for fully half a century heathenism held sway in Judah.

Zephaniah's ancestry and influence

The spirit and message of the great prophets of the Assyrian period could not, however, be quenched. Their teachings were treasured, as Isaiah had hoped, by a small group of their disciples. History is silent regarding their method of work, but its fruits can be clearly discerned. In many ways the most astonishing fact in this period of Judah's history is that Josiah, the son of Amon and the grandson of the reactionary Manasseh, developed into an ardent disciple of the earlier prophets. The explanation is probably to be found in the influence and work of the prophet Zephaniah. It is exceedingly suggestive that his ancestry is traced back through four generations to Hezekiah. The most satisfactory explanation of this fact is that Hezekiah is none other than the reformer king who reigned in the days of Isaiah and Micah. If this be true, Zephaniah was in a position to exercise a strong influence on the young king Josiah.

His personality

The sermons of Zephaniah reveal a man of strong, stern personality. He has the burning zeal of a reformer and is intolerant of the many forms of heathenism which had crept into Judah during the reign of Manasseh. His spirit is the same as that which later characterized Josiah's iconoclastic reformation. His intense loyalty to Jehovah recalls that of Elijah, and the reformation which followed under the leadership of Josiah had much in common with the earlier reformation of Jehu.

Jeremiah's antecedents

The noblest spirit of this tragic period, which witnessed the gradual decline and ultimate destruction of the Judean state, was the prophet Jeremiah. He is, in some ways, the best known and the least understood of all the Hebrew prophets. His varied experiences and his inner struggles are fully recorded in the remarkable collection of sermons and narratives which bears his name. His birthplace was the little town of Anathoth, north of Jerusalem, just over the Mount of Olives. Thither Solomon had banished Abiathar, the descendant of the priestly house of Eli. Jeremiah appears to have been a scion

of this ancient family. In his noble ancestry and in his home training he later recognized a preparation which constituted an important element in his call. In comfortable circumstances, in the quiet of a little country town, and yet in closest touch with Judah's capital, Jeremiah grew up a sensitive, introspective, and conscientious youth.

His spiritual kinship with Hosea

From his later sermons it is evident that he was an ardent, spiritual disciple of the earlier prophets, and especially of the great Hosea, in whom he recognized a kindred spirit. Both were deeply religious and governed largely by their emotions. To both fell the tragic task of striving in vain to save their country from the consequences of its crime and folly and of singing the death dirge of their beloved nation. Both were uncompromising foes of every form of injustice and corruption; but each appreciated and voiced, as did no other men of their day, the yearning love of Jehovah for his people and his passionate eagerness to save them if they would but let him.

His prophetic call

Jeremiah's call evidently came to him while he was still a youth. In the opening chapter of his prophecy he tells us of the long struggle between his natural inclinations and the call to public duty. By nature he was quiet and retiring. His constant references to the joys of home and the love of husband and wife, of children and parents, show how ardently he craved them. No man was more sensitive to criticism or longed more for public sympathy and approval. All the innate forces of his nature held him back from taking up a task which called for the sacrifice of almost everything that he held dearest, and yet, for a man with the inheritance and character of Jeremiah, it was still more impossible to ignore the divine call. During his period of struggle it would seem that every incident of his daily life voiced for him that call: the almond-tree, first to wake from the slumber of winter, spoke to him of the unceasing care with which Jehovah watched for the realization of his gracious purpose in the life of his people. A caldron, filled with boiling liquid, suggested the northern foes which threatened each moment to sweep like a flood upon the land of Judah. From the frequent references in his earlier sermons to this northern foe, apparently a horde of dread Scythians, it is evident that their approach was that which led the prophet to make his final decision and to take up his prophetic mission.

His heroic devotion to his task

From the first Jeremiah realized that his work would be a thankless task. For him it meant a life-long tragedy. He tells us that in devotion to his work and as a symbol to his countrymen of the privations which would come with the approaching exile he denied himself even the joys of married life. Yearning intensely for sympathy and friendship, but ever an object of popular hate and scorn and ridicule, through forty long years he persisted in his mission. At times bitter cries of distress burst from his lips, revealing one of the most human as well as one of the most heroic of the prophets. And yet his patriotism to God and his country did not permit him to remain silent:

If I say, I will not think of it nor speak any more in his name,
Then there is in mine heart, as it were, a burning fire shut up in my bones.

Through all the shifting fortunes of Judah's policy, as the infatuated leaders hurried the nation on to its final ruin, Jeremiah stood firm like a light-house,

shedding a clear, divine light upon the seething waters. He himself was fully conscious of his task. At the time of his call the divine word had come to him:

> Therefore do thou gird up thy loins and arise,
> Speak to them all that I command thee,
> Do not be terrified before them, lest I terrify thee.
> For behold, I myself make thee this day a fortified city in their presence,
> And a brazen wall against the whole land,
> Against the kings of Judah, its princes, its priests, and the common people.
> And they shall fight against thee, but they will not overcome thee
> For I am with thee to deliver thee, saith Jehovah.

Quality of his heroism

In reading Jeremiah's prophecies one sometimes gains the impression that he was almost weak and dependent, but in the light of the conditions of his age and his own sensitive nature, it is clear that he is in many ways the noblest of all the heroes of the faith who arose in ancient Israel. His was the heroism of the commonplace, that divinest type of heroism which suffers untold agonies yet quietly persists and remains ever true to the God-given task, however distasteful it may be.

His work during the first period of his ministry

In the earlier days of his ministry Jeremiah joined hands with Zephaniah. His early reform sermons are full of warnings and denunciations, and yet through them there breathes a divine love and tenderness which appeals even more strongly to the heart than to the reason or to the sense of fear. The work of Zephaniah and Jeremiah and the group of reformers who gathered about them soon bore fruit in the reformation of Josiah. As is now generally recognized, the basis of that reformation was the remarkable law-book found in Deuteronomy (cf. Vol. IV, 31–5). It represents the united work of priests and prophets. In it the principles laid down by Hosea and Isaiah are formulated in definite laws to guide the people. The formal acceptance and institution of this new code opens another chapter in the history of the Hebrew race. Henceforth the priest and the written law come more and more to the front, and take the place of the prophet with his direct appeal to the national and individual conscience.

His estimate of Josiah's reforms

While the new law-book was being promulgated, and during the remainder of the reign of Josiah, Jeremiah appears to have been quiet. The crisis having passed, he was free to retire to the quiet of his home at Anathoth. From the references in his later sermons it is clear that Jeremiah longed for a deeper reformation which would sweep away not only the high places and the symbols of the old heathen cults, but also the false ideas and motives in the minds of his fellow-countrymen.

The second period of Jeremiah's activity

The tragic death of Josiah soon brought to the throne his son Jehoiakim, who reversed the policy of his father and had little sympathy with the ideals of the prophets. Egyptian and Babylonian conquerors again laid their hands upon Judah, and foolish counsellors brought to the state new perils. Judah's need called Jeremiah from his seclusion. Until after the final fall of Jerusalem in 586 B.C., he spoke continuously in public, dealing with questions relat-

ing to the political, moral, and religious welfare of Judah. Frequently he was attacked by the people; he was repeatedly thrown into prison; he was taunted as a traitor, and yet, until death overtook him as an exile in the land of Egypt—stoned, according to tradition, by the men of his own race—he toiled unceasingly to avert the final national calamity.

Habakkuk

Sometime during the reign of Jehoiakim, Habakkuk, a contemporary of Jeremiah, voiced that sorrow and doubt which filled the minds of the true prophets as they witnessed the overthrow of Josiah's policy and saw, rapidly advancing, their new conquerors, the Chaldeans. Habakkuk's literary style is strong and vigorous. His faith triumphs over his doubts. His point of view, however, is nearer that of the people and lacks the depth and spirituality which characterize Jeremiah's messages.

The third period of Jeremiah's activity

Judah, at first, accepted the rule of the Chaldeans without opposition; but after three or four years it rebelled, although in the face of Jeremiah's earnest warnings and protests. In a short time Jehoiakim died and Jerusalem fell. As a punishment for this rebellion, in 597 B.C. about ten thousand of the leading citizens of Jerusalem were transported to Babylonia, and over the Jews who were left behind was placed the well-meaning but inefficient Zedekiah. His reign of eleven years marks the third period of Jeremiah's activity. Although the prophet enjoyed the confidence of the king, he was subjected to cruel persecution at the hands of the inexperienced nobles, who shaped Judah's policy during this period. Jeremiah was also bitterly opposed by the false prophets, who were especially active at this time, and who undermined Jeremiah's influence with the people by advocating the popular policy of rebellion against Nebuchadrezzar.

The fourth and last period

The final capture and destruction of Jerusalem in 586 B.C. confirmed the truth of Jeremiah's prophetic counsels. The last period of his life-work was devoted to the survivors of this great calamity. When the Jewish governor Gedaliah was treacherously murdered, the prophet still advised them to remain in the land and trust to the justice and clemency of Nebuchadrezzar. His counsel, however, was rejected and he was carried away to spend his last years among the Jewish fugitives in Egypt.

Significance of Jeremiah's work

Jeremiah is, indeed, the commanding figure of this tragic period of Judah's decline. He alone was able, under divine guidance, to estimate the true significance of the forces at work in the life of his nation, to point out the dangers, and the only way of escape. False prophets and strong popular opposition confronted him on every side. The authority of the prophet with the people was passing. Rejected and despised by his race, with heart breaking because of the calamities which he was forced to predict, for nearly half a century Jeremiah suffered almost daily martyrdom. And yet by his devotion and fidelity he prepared his nation for the supreme crisis of the exile and thereby preserved its faith in Jehovah. It was but just that the later generations should crown him with the highest respect and veneration. In him Hebrew prophecy reached its greatest spiritual height, and at last broke those national bonds which had hitherto prevented Israel's faith in Jehovah from becoming an universal world-religion.

V

THE PROPHETS OF THE EXILE AND RESTORATION

The changed conditions of the exile

THE fall of Jerusalem in 586 B.C. and the changed conditions of the exile called forth such a different type of religious leader that certain modern scholars have asserted that Jeremiah was the last of the real prophets and that Ezekiel and those who followed were but shadowy reflections of their noble predecessors. The assertion, however, must be modified in the light of the fact that a fundamental characteristic of every true prophet is an adaptation of his work and teaching to the peculiar needs of his age. No more sudden and sweeping transformation ever came to a nation than that through which the Israelites passed in the years immediately following 586 B.C. Their political and national life, which had been all-important in the days before the exile suddenly ceased, and for the next four centuries the race was bound hand and foot, powerless under the hands of their foreign masters. The result was that the insistent political problems and crises which had commanded the attention of the prophets of the preceding period ceased to exist. Wealth and social distinctions also vanished, and with these the glaring social evils which had elicited the impassioned sermons of Amos and Micah. Under the deep shadow of the exile the survivors of the race for the first time fully appreciated and accepted the teachings of their earlier prophets. To a great extent heathenism lost its hold upon the Jews and the immoral cults of Canaan ceased to exercise their malign influence. Henceforth the written law, embodying the social and ethical teachings of the prophets, was regarded with ever-increasing reverence.

Loss of confidence in the spoken word

In the light of these changed conditions it is obvious that there was little demand or field for a prophet. In its reverence for the authority of the past and for the written law the new generation was beginning to lose faith in the spoken word. The later prophets also felt the lack of popular confidence and preferred to issue their messages anonymously. From the period of the exile on only four prophecies, those of Ezekiel, Haggai, Zechariah, and Joel, bear the names of those who uttered them. Otherwise the many prophecies of this period are but voices crying in the wilderness.

Ezekiel's early training

The great prophet of the exile and the moulder of later Judaism is Ezekiel. Born in Jerusalem of priestly family, he grew up under the shadow of the temple and under the preaching of Jeremiah. Both of these powerful influences may be traced throughout all his work. His experiences and activity are recorded by his own pen with remarkable fulness and chronological accuracy. He was one of the many priests carried into the exile at Babylonia in connection with the first captivity of 597 B.C. For five years he lived in the colony of Jewish exiles settled beside the great Kabaru Canal which ran be-

tween Babylon and Nippur. Communication between these exiles and their kinsmen who remained behind under the rule of King Zedekiah was close. Ezekiel was evidently well informed and keenly interested in conditions and problems in the distant homeland. The folly of the leaders of Judah in defying the authority of Babylonia transformed the priest Ezekiel into a prophet, and constituted the theme of his preaching and activity recorded in the first twenty-five chapters of his prophecy.

His conception of Jehovah

Ezekiel has given a detailed account of the call which came to him in 592 B.C. Its elaborate imagery reflects his Babylonian environment, and its highly developed symbolism his priestly birth and training. It is very similar to Isaiah's call both in form and content. The God of Ezekiel's inspired vision was the God of supreme majesty and holiness. In the dark shadow of the exile, however, Isaiah's God, who was thought of as immanent and personally active in all the life of the nation, was conceived of as a transcendent God above and apart from his people. As was natural, Ezekiel also emphasized the ceremonial aspects of Jehovah's holiness, and sought by means of an elaborate ritual to purify the uncleanness of his people.

Significance of his work

A strong ethical note ran through all of Ezekiel's sermons; but he also gave a powerful impetus to that trend toward ceremonialism which characterized post-exilic Judaism. He it was who outlined that programme which, in later days, became the guiding norm of Judaism. His personality is stamped, not only upon all that he wrote, but also on the generations which succeeded him. When the final destruction of Jerusalem had demonstrated the truth of his earlier counsels, his authority as a prophet was firmly established and his predictions satisfied the cravings of his age and race. With the eye of faith he saw a new race and a new religion rising out of the scattered remnants of the Hebrew nation, and he was able to impress this belief upon the minds of his discouraged and disconsolate countrymen. Ezekiel was pre-eminently the organizer who, in the supreme crisis of Judaism, adopting the great doctrines of his prophetic predecessors, developed a creed and a definite plan which met the new needs of the situation. His emphasis upon details and ritual was not only in accord with the spirit of his age, but also furnished a concrete programme which could be understood and adopted by the masses who were groping in the darkness. The stern, conscientious, dramatic priest who labored and wrote beside the Chebar well deserves the place accorded him by later generations in the goodly fellowship of the prophets. He and those who follow him simply compel us to broaden our narrow definition of the word prophet.

Conditions in Judah during the exile

At the beginning of the Babylonian exile the survivors of the earlier Judean kingdom were to be found in three centres. Thirty or forty thousand of the political and religious leaders of the nation were settled by themselves, a little Judah, in the heart of Babylonia. Many Jews—possibly more than those who were carried captive to Babylon—had found temporary or permanent refuge on the borders of the friendly land of Egypt, ready to return to their homes when the Babylonians were through with their rigorous punishment of the Jewish rebels. The majority of the nation, the peasants and the inhabitants of the villages outside of Jerusalem, remained in the land, cultivated the

soil, and awaited the time when they should be freed from Babylonian bondage. From incidental references in Jeremiah and Haggai and Zechariah, it appears that they continued to offer sacrifices on the ruins of the great rock-hewn altar which had stood before the temple at Jerusalem. Here also, probably in keeping with the spirit of Deuteronomy, they observed the sad fasts which took the place of the ancient, joyous annual festivals.

Delay in rebuilding the temple

The conquest of Babylonia by Cyrus the Persian evidently did not bring, as later tradition suggests, a general return of the Jews from Babylon. The policy of the Persian conqueror opened the way for the exiles to return and even gave them encouragement to rebuild their cities and sanctuaries; but it would seem that only a little handful of Jews from Babylon, certain priests and descendants of the old Hebrew reigning family, found their way back to the desolate hills of Judah. Otherwise the poor, struggling Judean community included simply the peasants who had been left behind and the fugitives who had returned from Egypt. Eighteen years, apparently, elapsed after the conquest of Babylon by Cyrus before any attempt was made to rebuild the temple at Jerusalem.

Haggai's effective preaching

The change in the spirit of prophecy, which first appeared in the character and work of Ezekiel, was again forcibly illustrated. The two men who inspired and directed the rebuilding of the temple were the prophets Haggai and Zechariah. In originality and spirituality they are far inferior to the prophets of the pre-exilic period. In thought and sympathy they are, however, in close touch with the mass of the people. Haggai was a layman, energetic, blunt, direct in speech, and intensely practical in his counsel. By his homely reasoning and encouraging messages he stirred the lazy, faint-hearted, and discouraged Judean community to effective action. The rebellions which, in 521 B.C., broke out in many parts of the Persian empire also kindled the hopes of the people and encouraged them to believe that the hour of their deliverance was at hand.

Zechariah's personality

Haggai's contemporary and fellow-worker Zechariah was apparently of priestly descent. He belonged to the priestly family of Iddo (Neh. 12^4). His point of view and interests are those of a man brought up in the atmosphere of the ceremonial law. His kinship with the other priest-prophet Ezekiel is close. Being a priest, it is exceedingly probable that he was born among the exiles in Babylonia. The breadth of his outlook and his keen interest in the great world movements further suggest that his early training was received in Babylon. Like Haggai, he was a man of great energy and took up the work of encouraging and directing the thought of the Judean community in the same spirit as his fellow-prophet. In a series of impressive visions he dealt practically with the problems that confronted the temple-builders. He was an able pastor who dispelled the popular doubts and inspired the people under his care to continued activity.

Work of Haggai and Zechariah

The entire recorded work of these two prophets of the new temple was limited to the two or three years between September 520 and 518 B.C. At a critical moment, however, in the life of Judaism they stood forth to make clear to their race its supreme duty in the light of changed conditions which had resulted from the destruction of their city and temple. Unlike many of the

pre-exilic prophets, they also lived to see the fruit of their labors in the rebuilding of the temple and in the rebirth of hope in the minds of the Jews of Palestine. Even though the larger restoration for which they hoped did not come for more than a century, Haggai the layman and Zechariah the priest must be counted among the founders of Judaism.

Expectations of the rebuilders of the temple

The prophecies of Haggai and Zechariah are of great value for the study of post-exilic prophecy, inasmuch as they can be definitely dated and shed clear light upon the hopes of the Jews during the days immediately following the exile. They afford by far the best approach for the study of the difficult problems presented by Isaiah 40–66. They indicate clearly that in 518 B.C., the hopes for a general restoration of the exiles to Jerusalem were exceedingly strong in the minds of prophets and people, but that the realization lay in the future rather than in the immediate past. Zechariah also bears testimony to the fundamental changes that took place in his own expectation regarding the future of his nation during the critical years that lay between the beginning and completion of the second temple. In 520 B.C. both he and Haggai, doubtless reflecting popular belief, trusted and predicted that the immediate future would bring to them independence and national glory under the rule of Zerubbabel, a scion of the Davidic royal line. By 518, however, this hope of a Davidic king and kingdom had passed away, but the expectation of a general restoration of the exiles had only grown the stronger. It had broadened, however, into the belief that other nations would come to worship Jehovah as the universal, divine Ruler. Zechariah's closing prophecy regarding Jehovah's return to Zion, and the prosperity and glory which would come to the sacred city and the chosen people, is the fitting prelude to the proclamation of the early restoration of Jehovah's people with which Isaiah 40–66 opens. The basis of the hopes for a general return of the exiles, which Zechariah shares with the author of Isaiah 40–66 (who may be designated as the great prophet of the restoration), was not merely the conquest of Babylon, but also the fact that the communal life at Jerusalem and the temple service had been reestablished.

Evidence that Isaiah 40–66 were written after 516 B.C.

In Isaiah 56 and the following chapters there are repeated references to the temple and its service, indicating that it had already been restored (cf. §§ 176, 178, introd. notes). Moreover, these references are not confined to the latter part of the book. In $43^{23.\ 24}$ the prophet complains, in the name of Jehovah, that the community had not brought to him the sheep of their burnt-offerings nor honored him with their sacrifices. Such a charge would be meaningless if the temple were not already rebuilt. The charges are also very similar to those made by the author of the book of Malachi, who wrote sometime about the middle of the Persian period.

Israel, not Cyrus, Jehovah's anointed

Chapters 56–66 are generally recognized as post-exilic, but, on the basis of the mention of Cyrus in two passages (44^{28}, 45^{1}), Isaiah 40–55 have been attributed by the majority of recent scholars to the closing years of the Babylonian exile. The fact, on the one hand, that there are few, if any, allusions to contemporary events in these chapters, and, on the other hand, that little or nothing is known of the condition and hopes of the Jews during this period makes this dating of these prophecies possible although far from certain. As

will be shown, however, in connection with the text, the references to Cyrus were, beyond reasonable doubt, added by a scribe familiar with the opening chapters of the book of Ezra. A comparison of the description of Jehovah's anointed, in Isaiah 45, with closely parallel passages in the same context and in 49 shows that the prophet had in mind not a foreign king but Israel, the messianic nation, called and upheld by Jehovah through the ages and given dominion as in the days of David over heathen kings and nations.

Isaiah 40–66 written in Palestine

Also the assumption that the author of these chapters lived in the Babylonian exile is not supported by a close examination of the prophecies themselves. Possibly their author was one of the few who, like Zerubbabel, had been born in Babylon and later returned to Palestine. He was also dealing with such broad and universal problems that he gives few indications of his date and place of abode; but all the evidence that is found points to Jerusalem as the place where he lived and wrote. Babylon is only one of the distant lands of the dispersion. As Jehovah's spokesman the prophet addresses Jerusalem, declaring:

> Fear not I am with thee,
> From the east I will bring thine offspring.
> From the west I will gather thee.
> I will say to the north, Give up.
> And to the south, Withhold not!
> Bring my sons from afar and my daughters from the ends of the earth.

The prophet's interest and point of view centre throughout in Jerusalem, and he shows himself far more familiar with conditions in Palestine than in distant Babylon. Most of his illustrations are drawn from the agricultural life of Palestine. His vocabulary is also that of a man dwelling in Palestine, and in this respect is in marked contrast with the synonymes employed by Ezekiel, the prophet of the Babylonian exile.*

Content and purpose of these chapters

While in touch with his own age, the great unknown prophet lives in the atmosphere of the past and the future. His prophecies rise above the limitations of place and time; the entire panorama of ancient history is spread out before his inspired vision. His reasoning is as simple and powerful as is his literary style: Jehovah's incomparable superiority to all other gods is revealed in the leadership and exaltation of his chosen people in the past; the same God who led from the distant East a little clan and gave them possession of Palestine and rulership over their neighbors is able and will again gather his scattered people and realize through them his noble purpose in the history of mankind. It was his supreme vision of Jehovah, as revealed in the past life of his race and of humanity, in the heavens and in nature, that impelled the great unknown prophet to write those immortal poems which illuminate all human history and which present, as do no other passages of the Old Testament, the true character of the infinite, omnipotent, omniscient, and benign Ruler of the universe.

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* Cf. Cobb, Jour. of Bib. Lit., XXVII, 48–64.

The personality of their author

In his picture of the suffering servant of Jehovah one recognizes the profound impression which the long, voluntary martyrdom of Jeremiah made upon the receptive mind of this deep student of Israel's past. In his treatment of the problem of evil and in his exalted estimate of suffering voluntarily borne for others, it is impossible not to see the influence of that bitter and prolonged affliction which was then the lot of the prophet in common with the faithful of his race. His glorious picture of the future was the triumphant cry of a soul who has passed through the valley of the shadow of death and seen the great light. His was the vision of a seer, the spirit of a philosopher, and the soul of a poet. Bold in denouncing the blindness of the people and the hypocrisy and rapacity of their leaders, he speaks with divine tenderness to the timid and despondent. He, above all others, was the prophet who bridged the centuries, who took firm hold of the eternal verities, who inspired in the heart of his race a deathless hope, who spiritualized the aspirations of weak humanity and made the message and mission of Judaism universal.

Fortunes of the Judean community after 516 B.C.

The biblical historians are silent regarding the seventy years following the rebuilding of the temple in 516 B.C. From Nehemiah's vivid account of conditions as he found them in Jerusalem about 445 B.C., it is clear that the intervening years had brought disappointment and distress to the Jews of Palestine. The ancient city walls were still in ruins so that the inhabitants of Jerusalem were an easy prey to the attacks of their hostile neighbors. The Edomites, who at the beginning of the Babylonian exile had been driven from their own homes, had seized southern Judah. From this vantage-point they vented their hereditary enmity upon the helpless Jewish peasants. In the thought of the Jews the Edomites were the symbol of all that was evil and opposed to the interests of Jehovah and his people. Their overthrow is the theme of the little prophecy of Obadiah, which comes from this period. On the west were the survivors of the ancient Philistines, and just across the Jordan the Ammonites continued that close ring of hereditary foes with which the Jews were encircled. On the north the half-heathen Samaritans completed the circle.

Internal conditions

Within the Jewish community itself the more aggressive leaders had, in time, acquired property and influence and formed a strong and powerful party which protected itself by making alliances with the leaders of the neighboring nations and regarded the temple service and the poorer classes, who found in it their only joy, with scorn or open contempt. There was nothing that was great or inspiring in the life of the Judean community. The author of the little book of Malachi throws clear light upon conditions in Jerusalem in the years not long preceding the advent of Nehemiah. The temple had long been rebuilt, and even the priests themselves had begun to be careless in the performance of their duties. Apparently the walls of Jerusalem had not yet been built. The sceptics are outspoken in their avowal of their doubts regarding Jehovah's power to deliver his people, but in the minds of the faithful there is a strong hope, even as in Isaiah 40–66, that Jehovah is about to rise and vindicate his own.

Title of the book of Malachi

Malachi is but the Hebrew equivalent of *my messenger*, the one who, according to 3^1, was to come speedily to prepare for the advent of Jehovah. The

Greek translators translate Malachi in the superscription with the words, *By the hand of his messenger*, and the later Jewish and Christian scholars were almost unanimous in concluding that Malachi was not the name of the prophet, but simply a part of the later scribal designation of the book. Hence it would appear that, like most of the prophets of this period, the author of the book of Malachi wrote anonymously.

Character of its author

His personality and spirit, however, are revealed by his words. He was in closest touch with the different members of the Judean community. Like his predecessors Haggai and Zechariah, he labored earnestly to maintain the purity of the ritual, as well as the standards of justice and mercy. He was by no means, however, a narrow champion of Jewish exclusiveness. With an astonishing breadth of vision he declares that the blind though devoted worship of the heathen was even more acceptable to Jehovah than the half-hearted, hypocritical service of the Jerusalem priests. The prophet was evidently a man of great independence, originality, and energy. He addressed himself frankly and boldly to the existing problems and evils of his day. Repeatedly he presents the objections in the minds of his hearers and then deals with them plainly and effectively. He is, indeed, himself a voice crying in the wilderness, Jehovah's messenger preparing the way for the later reformation carried through by Nehemiah, and the great movement represented in tradition by Ezra.

Effect of the prophetic teaching upon the community

It is clear that during the days preceding the appearance of Nehemiah in Palestine the minds of certain members of the Judean community were filled with a great expectation. The mighty Persian empire still held them powerless in its iron grasp; but out of the seventy years of persecution and distress which had followed, under the inspiration of the messages of the authors of Isaiah 40–55 and the book of Malachi, the hopes of the faithful rose again in nobler and more spiritual form. Possibly these hopes inspired the little group of Jews to face the discomforts and perils of the long desert journey to distant Susa that they might enlist the co-operation of their kinsmen, the royal cupbearer Nehemiah. In the remarkable prayer which stands at the beginning of his memoirs (Neh. 1) it is not difficult to recognize the influence of the thought of the great prophet of the restoration. In six verses he uses the term servant (in the sense of servant of Jehovah) eight times. His words in 1^{10}, *Now these are thy servants and thy people whom thou hast redeemed by thy great power and by thy strong hand*, are an echo of the familiar teachings of the II Isaiah. Nehemiah himself was one of the true servants of Jehovah. His work in part realized the divine promises proclaimed by the great prophet of the restoration. He it was who energetically and successfully attacked the social and moral evils in the Judean community, and as Jehovah's messenger prepared the way for a great spiritual revival (cf. Neh. 5, 13). The rebuilding of the walls of Jerusalem and the repeopling of the city under the direction of Nehemiah led to that extension of Judah's territory and the general return of the exiles, which apparently took place somewhere during the first half of the fourth century B.C. (cf. Vol. II, § 165).

VI

THE PROPHETS OF LATER JUDAISM

Joel's point of view

THE period between 400 and 350 B.C. furnishes the most probable background for the prophecy of Joel. The social evils which the earlier prophets had denounced have already disappeared. The elders and the priests are the ruling classes in the community. The temple and its service occupy a central place, not merely in the life of Judah, but in the thought of the prophet. Like Ezekiel and Zechariah, Joel is an ardent champion of the ritual and is in full sympathy with the ceremonial trend of later Judaism. His attention is fixed entirely upon the problems of the Judean community. Its heathen neighbors the Edomites, the Phœnicians, and the Philistines are still a thorn in the flesh, and the great barrier in the way of the establishment of Jehovah's world-wide kingdom. The immediate occasion of his prophecy was the invasion of a great swarm of locusts, which threatened to destroy all vegetation, and thus to make impossible the continuation of the temple service. In the prophet's mind this calamity was an index that Jehovah's great day of judgment was at hand. In detail and with graphic imagery he pictures the different aspects of this era of vindication and exaltation, which he, in common with the majority of the prophets of his age, believed to be near at hand. To him the overthrow of the wicked heathen nations who had long oppressed Jehovah's faithful people seemed essential, not only for the realization of the destiny of the Jews, but also for the vindication of Jehovah's justice.

The new type of prophet

In the light of history, Joel must be reckoned as one of the lesser prophets. He marks the great transition from the earlier ethical prophets, who addressed themselves to the living problems of their day, to the new type of prophet, who lived largely in the future and dreamed of some great, miraculous, divine interposition to right the evils of the world, and to institute that righteous social order which the earlier prophets had sought to develop through the appeal to the consciences of their countrymen.

Closing years of the Persian period

The next half-century brought to the Jewish community in Palestine, not the realization of the hopes which Joel had expressed in such vivid imagery, but a new series of disasters. In 368 B.C. Artexerxes Ochus, the most cruel and blood-thirsty, as well as one of the most energetic of the Persian rulers, came to the throne. Egypt, Phœnicia, and probably all of Palestine were soon involved in a general uprising, which was for a time successful but was in the end put down with relentless cruelty and appalling loss of life. Thousands of the Phœnicians perished, many of the Jews appear to have been transported to the province of Hyrcania, south of the Caspian Sea, and the temple at Jerusalem was desecrated, if not temporarily destroyed.

Effects of Alexander's conquests

A few years later Alexander the Great appeared on the northern horizon of Judah in his victorious march to the conquest of the Persian empire, which was completed by 331 B.C. This change of rulers does not seem to have greatly affected the Judean community. In making Alexandria the great commercial seaport of the eastern Mediterranean, Alexander offered special inducements to the Jews, who settled there in great numbers. Again the tide of Jewish colonization set away from rather than toward Jerusalem, and the religious and intellectual life of the Jews of Alexandria became in many ways more important than that of the temple-city itself.

The book of Jonah

Disappointed in its hopes of a signal vindication and world-wide rulership, and suffering under the wrongs inflicted by their heathen neighbors and rulers, the hearts of the great majority of the Jews both in Palestine and in the lands of the dispersion were embittered. They forgot that they had been called to be Jehovah's witnesses before the Gentiles and that they were to conquer the world by the invincible weapons of love and service rather than by the sword. One great prophetic soul, however, like Jeremiah and the II Isaiah, stands apart and above his age and proclaims a message of profound spiritual significance. It is the author of the much misunderstood little book of Jonah. It is not a prophecy but a story regarding a prophet. At first glance its place among the distinctively prophetic books of the Old Testament seems anomalous, but a more careful reading leads to the conclusion that it is more than a mere history, it is rather a story or parable intended, like the didactic stories and parables of the rabbis and of the Great Teacher of Nazareth, to convey certain profound and universal religious truths.

Its real nature and purpose

Its hero is Jonah, the son of Amittai, the prophet from Gath-heper, who lived in Northern Israel about the middle of the eighth century B.C., and who, according to II Kings 14[25], predicted to Jereboam II the restoration of Israel's ancient boundaries. The story-teller, however, has drawn freely from the field of tradition and popular wonder stories. The result is that the narrative from beginning to end abounds in the miraculous. The prophet has also shaped or freely adapted his materials to the realization of his didactic purpose. The result is a story so dramatic and fascinating that it holds the attention from beginning to end, so simple that it seems almost childish, and yet, with quiet humor and an irony which is irresistible, it teaches truths which are of profound and universal significance. On the one side the book is a protest against the pride and narrow exclusiveness, which was beginning to characterize the Jews, and of that spirit of hostility, which is expressed in the closing chapters of Joel and in the book of Malachi. On the other side it is a powerful declaration of the great truth that Jehovah's love and care were limited to no one race. Jonah stands forth as a type of Israel, which had been called to be a prophet-nation and to proclaim Jehovah's will to all mankind. In the experiences of Jonah the folly of refusing to carry out the divine commission was clearly pictured. He also exemplifies Israel's narrowness and inconsistency. He complains bitterly to the God of mercy and love because of the little misfortunes that came to him, such as the withering of the gourd; while in the same breath he arrogates to himself the right of reprimanding Jehovah because, in his divine goodness, he had shown

mercy to the heathen and to his innocent and helpless creatures. In contrast to Jonah and the prophet-nation the heathen sailors and the Assyrians themselves, in accordance with their light, are far better and more deserving of the divine favor. The book is, therefore, a missionary tract. It is a stern call to Israel to cease praying for the destruction of the heathen, and instead to arise and perform its divine task in leading the nations to a knowledge of Jehovah. It is also a powerful declaration of the quality and depth and universality of Jehovah's love—a love which is as strong for the ignorant and helpless heathen as for his favored people.

Lot of the Jews in the Greek period

During the Greek period, which followed the conquests of Alexander, the Jews were subject at first to the Ptolemies, who ruled over Egypt, and later to the Seleucidæ, with their capital at Antioch. The territory of Palestine, lying midway between these two rival kingdoms, was a constant bone of contention. The result was that sometimes the Jews were courted and sometimes plundered and cruelly oppressed by the kings of Egypt and Syria. From the references in the II Isaiah to the oppression of the scattered exiles, and from the records of later persecutions in Egypt and other parts of the world, it is evident that the lot of many of the Jews was a far from pleasant one. To be loyal to their religion and peculiar institutions demanded rare courage and devotion.

Evidence regarding the date of the book of Daniel

It is now generally recognized that the book of Daniel comes from the period following the conquests of Alexander. The presence of so many Greek as well as Persian words in its opening chapters points definitely to this conclusion. Its peculiar literary style and constructions are found only in late writings, like Chronicles, Ecclesiastes, Esther, and later Jewish literature. Although its background is the Babylonian and Persian periods, it reveals an ignorance of the actual course of history during these periods which is inconceivable, if the author lived contemporaneously with or soon after the events described. Thus, for example, Belshazzar is said to have been the son and immediate successor of Nebuchadrezzar and to have ruled over Babylon at the time of its fall. From contemporary Babylonian inscriptions, however, it is an established fact that four kings succeeded Nebuchadrezzar on the throne of Babylon, and that the last king was Nabonidus. Belsharuzur was the name of a son of Nabonidus who apparently never came to the throne of Babylon, for the city fell before his father's death. In the book of Daniel the conqueror of Babylon is not Cyrus, but Darius the Mede. The belief that the Medes conquered Babylonia was probably based on the predictions in Isaiah 13^{17} and 21^{2}. Cyrus the Persian is represented as the conqueror of Darius. The names and order of the four Persian kings mentioned in the book of Daniel are those which appear in late Jewish tradition, suggesting strongly that we have here, not historical narratives, but the vague memories of a later age. This conclusion is confirmed by the fact that, in contrast, the events and character of the Greek period are presented with great detail and fidelity. The interest of the entire book focuses on this and the early part of the Maccabean age. These and other converging lines of evidence leave little reasonable doubt that the book of Daniel must be dated somewhere after 300 B.C.

Indications that Daniel 1–6 was originally a distinct book

Hitherto the book has been attributed, with remarkable unamimity among modern scholars, to one author. A recent writer,* however, has adduced convincing evidence that the original edition of Daniel contained simply the stories found in chapters 1–6. Briefly summarized, the evidence is, first, the fundamental differences in style between the first and second halves of the book. In 1–6 many Persian and Greek words are introduced, evidently with deliberate purpose, but in the second half, although the theme is almost identically the same, these practically disappear. The literary style of 1–6 is that of the ordinary narrative or story of the period, but 7–12 abounds in original expressions, peculiar uses of words, and unique idioms, which differentiate it from every other Old Testament writing. In 1–6 Daniel is a man of learning and rare insight, who is able, because of his abilities, to interpret dreams, and who enjoys high favor under his foreign masters. In 7–12, on the contrary, he is simply a passive recipient of the divine relation, he is frequently terrified and even faints, and is able to interpret the visions only as their meaning is explained to him in minutest detail. The result is two fundamentally different portraits.

Differences in content

The contents of the two parts are also very different. Chapters 1–6 contain edifying stories, akin to those in the book of Genesis, with little, if any, apocalyptic material; while 7–12 are pure apocalypses. Furthermore, the chronological data of the two parts do not agree. In 1^{21} it is stated that Daniel continued even to the first year of King Cyrus, which is clearly intended to mean that this date marks the end of his long activity, but in 10^{1} Daniel's final and most important vision is dated in the third year of Cyrus. Most significant of all is the fact that 1–6 does not contain the slightest reference to the persecutions under Antiochus, which occupy the central place in 7–12. Instead, Nebuchadnezzar and Darius, the kings who figure most prominently in 1–6 are regarded very favorably and prove themselves the friends of Daniel and, according to their light, the champions of the religion of Jehovah. In these respects they resemble certain of the early Greek rulers, who proved themselves generous patrons of the Jews.

Date of 1–6

Chapter 2 furnishes the data for determining the approximate date of these stories, for the predictions culminate in an unmistakable allusion to the marriage between Antiochus Theos and Berenice, daughter of Ptolemy Philadelphus, in 248 B.C., and the references to the historical events of the period cease with the statement that the alliance between Syria and Egypt, thus consummated, was soon broken. The chief event, in the mind of the author, was the murder of Berenice and Antiochus by Laodice, his former wife, and the subsequent invasion of Syria by Ptolemy Euergetes, who reigned between 247 and 222 B.C. He was the strongest ruler of this period and extended the authority of Egypt through southwestern Asia. His kingdom is evidently represented by the strength of the iron and the Syrian kingdom by the miry clay of Daniel 2^{41}. It is practically certain, therefore, that the author of these stories must have lived somewhere between 245 and 225 B.C., for if he had lived even to the latter part of the third century B.C.,

* Professor Torrey in Transactions of the Conn. Acad. of Arts and Sciences, XV, 241–82.

when Syria's growth in strength was as rapid as Egypt's decline, his estimate of the two powers would have been fundamentally different.

Their teachings

The method of the author of these stories was similar to that of the book of Jonah. It was to teach certain important truths by means of graphic and impressive stories. The allurements of Egypt and Antioch, and of Greek civilization in general, were a great source of temptation to the Jews, scattered as they were at this time throughout the known world. Each of these stories teaches its obvious and practical moral. They present, in very concrete form, the duty and the rewards of fidelity to the Jewish law, and of unswerving trust and loyalty to the God of their fathers. The temptations which came to Daniel and his friends were typical of those which came to the Jews of the period. The example of these heroes of the faith was undoubtedly a great source of inspiration to those who were thus tempted. Jehovah's superiority over heathen rulers and powers is also vividly set forth in the language of popular story.

Evidence that 7–12 is based on 1–6

That the early stories in chapters 1–6 made a profound impression on the Jews of the period is shown by the use that is made of them by the author of the remaining chapters of the book. He deliberately bound the two parts closely together, and was strongly influenced by the older models. Daniel's visions in 7–12 are distributed through the reigns of the same kings as are the stories in 1–6. The method of interpreting past history in the form of vision, first introduced in 2, is not only employed but further developed in chapters 7–12. In this way the history, beginning with the Babylonian period and culminating with the persecution of Antiochus Epiphanes, is traced with increasing detail in three distinct visions.

Date of 7-12

Most of the historical allusions can be definitely identified. In each vision the prediction culminates in a minute description of the impious character and pitiless persecutions of Antiochus Epiphanes. Certain minor variations suggest that perhaps these were issued, not all at once, but in succession. The evidence points to the year 166 B.C. as their probable date. The Maccabean uprising, while alluded to in 11^{34}, is not as yet regarded as of especial significance. Evidently the Hasideans or the party of the pious, to which the author belonged, had not yet allied themselves with Judas Maccabeus and his followers. There is also no reference to the great victories which resulted in the restoration of the temple service late in 165 B.C. Instead of the eastern expedition, during which Antiochus died (164 B.C.), the author predicts for him an Egyptian expedition, $11^{40\text{-}45}$, to which there is no reference in contemporary records. With the events of the year 166 B.C., when the author in all probability wrote, the minute detailed predictions suddenly ceased and instead only the most general descriptions of the victory of the saints and the institution of Jehovah's messianic rule are given.

Aim of the author

The aim of the prophetic author of these visions was to keep alive the faith and hope of his persecuted countrymen and to inspire within them undying patience and courage. In the trying days before Judas and his followers unsheathed the sword, these were the only obstacles which deterred Antiochus from realizing his desire to stamp out the Jewish religion and hellenize the Israelitish race. The methods of this late prophet were very different from

those of an Isaiah or a Jeremiah, but in the perspective of history the value of his service cannot be overestimated, for he helped to keep alive the faith of his race and to preserve for humanity the inestimable heritage which had been intrusted to Judaism.

Zechariah 9–14

The authors of the two different parts of the book of Daniel belong to the party of the Hasideans or pious, the forerunners of the later Pharisees. Their point of view is pietistic and ecclesiastical. They taught that, if the nation was but loyal to the demands of the ceremonial law, Jehovah would in time surely intervene, and, by a great miracle, bring about the deliverance and vindication for which they so earnestly hoped and prayed. Fortunately, there is found in the Old Testament another prophet, whose writings throw a new light upon that supreme crisis in Israel's history, which resulted from the persecutions of Antiochus Epiphanes. The detailed reasons for concluding that the author of chapters 9–14, which are appended to the book of Zechariah, come from about the year 160 B.C. will be presented later. In this historic setting these otherwise obscure chapters find their clearest and most satisfactory interpretation. They are filled from beginning to end with the ideas and phrases, not only of the earlier but also of the later prophetic books. Above all, they breathe the martial spirit which, after lying dormant for four long centuries, was kindled anew in the breasts of the patriotic Jews by the cruel and unjust acts of Antiochus Epiphanes and the intrepid leadership of Judas Maccabeus. Only a prophet aroused by the spirit of the age could declare, in the name of Jehovah:

> I will urge thy sons against the sons of Greece,
> And I will make thee like the sword of a hero.
> . . . . . .
> Jehovah of hosts shall defend them,
> And they shall devour and tread down the slingstones,
> They shall drink the blood of their foes like wine,
> They shall be filled with it like the crevices of an altar,
> And Jehovah their God will give them victory ($9^{13, 15, 16}$).

Point of view of their author

The author of these stirring chapters was evidently in sympathy with the policy of Judas and rejoiced in the victories and in the new national spirit which had suddenly come to his race. He was also filled with bitter resentment against the apostate high priests, who, in the hour of peril, had betrayed their nation. He shared the bitter hatred for their heathen persecutors, which stirred the hearts of the Jewish patriots of the period. His pictures regarding the future are colored by this spirit, so that, in his closing chapter, he has surpassed even Joel in the lurid colors with which he has painted the fate of the impenitent heathen. At the same time, like the author of Daniel 7–12, he has a profound regard for that law, for which martyrs had already given their lives, and for Israel's ceremonial institutions, which he emphasized, even to the ignoring of moral obligations. In his intimate familiarity with Israel's past history and literature, in his passionate and in many ways narrow patriotism, in his zeal for the temple and its ritual, and in his boundless confi-

dence in Jehovah's ability and willingness to interpose in the behalf of the chosen people, he is the incarnation of the spirit of this warlike age.

His theme is the certain and speedy and complete overthrow of the hostile heathen powers and the establishment of Jehovah's kingdom, with Jerusalem as its centre. Like earlier post-exilic prophets, he declares that this kingdom is to be universal, but that it is to be established by the sword. The rebellious are to be smitten with dire calamities, and those who share in its blessings must come to Jerusalem to pay homage to Jehovah, the Divine King, and to participate in the temple service. The prophecy does not voice the highest ideals reached by Israel's spiritual teachers, but it does represent, with marvellous fidelity, that peculiar type of Judaism which emerged from the Maccabean crisis and which, for the next few centuries, remained the hater and the hated of all the Gentile world.

His teachings

This outline study of the character and work of the different prophets in the light of Israel's history demonstrates convincingly that Hebrew prophecy passed through several distinct stages. Its rise was gradual, but amidst the throes of the Assyrian and Babylonian crises it rapidly reached its zenith and then, from the period of the exile on, gradually declined. With the exception of the II Isaiah, the great prophets of Hebrew history came from the period before the exile. They were great because of the significance of the crisis which called them forth, because of the closeness of their contact with life, and because of the supreme unselfishness with which they took up their task.

Rise and decline of Hebrew prophecy

Although some of them came from the humbler walks of life, they were, as a rule, the best educated men of their age. Some, like Hosea and Isaiah, were acquainted with books and in touch with the centres of learning. All were trained in the great school of experience. Their knowledge was not theoretical but practical. It included an exact and intimate acquaintance with their land and age, and with the political and social forces at work in Palestine, as well as in the larger world which encircled and largely determined the course of Israel's history. They also knew men and how to appeal to their feelings and wills with rare effectiveness.

Qualifications of the great prophets

Another striking characteristic of Israel's prophets was their keenness of insight. They were able to look beneath the surface and to see that which was essential and significant. Popular conclusions and conventional doctrines did not satisfy them. Rejecting the traditions of men, they looked, with open mind, to God for a newer and fuller revelation of the truths and principles which alone would guide them and their race through the great crises which confronted them. Thus they became effective teachers of men because they were the eager, alert disciples of the Highest. The truths and principles thus apprehended were so new, so obvious, and so convincing that each true prophet was absolutely sure of their divine origin. They felt that their own individuality was merged into the divine personality, and that when they spoke it was Jehovah's voice speaking through them. Hence it is easy to understand their impatience because of the blindness and folly of their fellow-countrymen, their almost frenzied zeal to point out the danger of a popular but false policy, and their eagerness to impress upon the people, by the use of every possible method, the vital truths which had been revealed to them.

Their attitude toward life and toward God

Reasons why the pre-exilic are superior to the post-exilic prophets

In contrast to their successors, the pre-exilic prophets are great primarily because they were not dreamers but men of action; they lived in the present rather than the future; they appealed to men's wills rather than to their hopes, and they proclaimed principles rather than predictions. The present had for the majority of the post-exilic Jews little of interest or inspiration. Hence, they lived in the past and in the future. The result was that the prophet in time again became a seer. His message lost that practical, ethical, and spiritual quality which is the essence of true prophecy. When the prophets ceased to be preachers and became mere predicters, they lost their birthright. Not until John the Baptist appeared as the preacher of righteousness, as well as the herald of a new era, did prophecy win back again that forfeited birthright.

Universality of their message

Patriotic citizens of little Israel, keen of insight, eternally discontented with the imperfections of their race and age, prompt and fearless to act, unselfish in their devotion, firm believers in the justice and goodness of him who rules the universe, the true Hebrew prophets belonged to that kingdom of God which knows no bounds of race or time. As the first citizens of that eternal kingdom, they still stand as guides and teachers of the present as of the past.

VII

THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF ISRAEL'S MESSIANIC IDEALS

Derivation and meaning of the term messianic

THE familiar terms Messiah and messianic are derived from the Hebrew word meaning to *smear*, to *anoint*. It was used to describe the anointing or consecrating of weapons of war, of sacred pillars, altars, the holy vessels of the temple, the ark, the tabernacle, and even the Holy Place. Persons as well as objects were also anointed and consecrated to their appointed tasks. Thus kings, like Saul, David, and Solomon, were publicly anointed; prophets, like Elisha, by the hand of Elijah; and priests, as they assumed the duties of their sacred office. The object or person thus anointed became a Messiah, in so far as the act symbolized consecration to a definite task. In each of these cases the anointing by oil represented the conferring of certain divine authority. If, as seems probable, the oil used in anointing was but the later substitute for the fat of the sacrificial victim, which was employed in the earlier rites, the historical content of the custom at once becomes clear. In primitive thought, by this act something of the sanctity and power of the Deity was thus imparted to the object or person upon whom the fat of the sacrifice rested.

Its narrower and broader use

In its narrower usage the term messianic is limited to those prophecies which describe the person or agent called and empowered to do a definite work and to realize the divine purpose in human history. In this more limited sense the messianic prophecies would include simply those which describe the work and character of the Messiah, whether the Messiah be an individual or a nation.

In its history and derivation, however, as well as in its popular use, the word messianic has a far broader application To anoint in the technical sense was to set apart and divinely equip an object or individual for the realization of a definite task or purpose. The realization of that definite divine purpose in human history is, therefore, the essential element in Hebrew messianic prophecy, although it necessarily includes a description of the means and agencies by which this divine purpose is to be realized. Hence in its broader definition and use the term messianic comprises all those varied prophecies in the Old Testament and in late Jewish literature which describe the noble destiny that God has in store for the race and the different agents and agencies by which that destiny is to be realized.

Messianic prophecy among other nations

Messianic prophecy in its broader and even in its narrower sense was by no means limited to the Hebrews. The same psychological tendencies which gave rise to the earlier forms of Israel's messianic hope were at work in the minds of other peoples. The desire to be delivered from want and oppres-

sion, the aspirations for national glory and prosperity, and the craving for peace and the sense of harmony with man and God, are as old as man. One of the best illustrations of early messianic prophecy is found in the literature of the Middle Egyptian kingdom. As has already been noted (p. 5), a certain prophet, Ipuwer, predicted in the presence of the king that the existing social and political organizations would be overthrown by foreign invaders and that frightful calamities would overtake all classes. Then a saviour would arise to restore the land. He would bring cooling to the flame. He would smite evil when he raised his arm against it. Many other such prophecies are found in Egyptian literature. The motive may have been thus tactfully to extol the achievements of the reigning monarch, or else to hold up before him and his people certain ideals which would inspire them to nobler achievements.

The ancient and the prophetic idea of the golden age

While traces of the hope of a golden era in the future occasionally appear, most ancient peoples believed that that ideal age lay in the past rather than in the future. The Egyptians themselves conceived of the early reign of Ra as the age of perfection. The Babylonians, Persians, and most of the peoples of southern Asia had their traditions of the days of the past when men and gods lived together on some mountain peak or mystical garden amidst conditions which were the realization of the fondest human ideals. The opening chapters of Genesis contain the Hebrew version of this ancient belief. It was Israel's prophets, however, who reversed this practically universal tendency, the logical outcome of which was pessimism regarding the present and future, and taught mankind that

> The best is yet to be,
> The last of life for which the first was made.

Difficulty in tracing the development of Israel's messianic ideals

No subject in the wide realm of biblical literature and thought is less understood and more variously interpreted than messianic prophecy. The reasons for this confusion are many. Ordinarily these prophecies are approached from the point of view of the New Testament and with the methods of interpretation of the early Church. It is inevitable that this reversal of the historical method of study should obscure, rather than reveal, the true order of development. Most of the distinctly messianic prophecies are also anonymous, so that it is difficult to determine their date with assurance. Furthermore, the tendency was strong among the later Jewish editors of the Old Testament writings to project the ideals of their age back into the earliest periods of their history in order to secure for the many anonymous prophecies of a later age the authority of a Moses, an Isaiah, or a Jeremiah. The tendency was closely parallel to that which led them to attribute practically all of their laws to Moses, their Psalms to David, and their proverbs to Solomon.

The resulting confusion

Interpreted, as they usually are, in their present literary setting, these different prophecies give an entirely false conception of the historical development of Israel's messianic ideals. These messianic prophecies are also the product of many different tendencies. The result is that there are wide differences in detail between the representations of different passages and writers. Hence, messianic prophecy in its present order is kaleidoscopic and

leaves in the mind of the reader and student a confused rather than a definite impression. It is not strange, therefore, that the most widely divergent conclusions are reached by different interpreters, and that by some an undue authority is attributed to certain passages, while to the majority of the Bible students of to-day the messianic prophecies of the Old Testament have little significance.

Dating the messianic prophecies

The first step in tracing the development of Israel's messianic hopes is to study the teachings of the prophets whose writings can be definitely dated and to make these one of the bases for determining the dates of the anonymous prophecies. It is astonishing to find how few are the passages whose date is definitely fixed. As has been already noted, the pre-exilic prophets were preachers rather than predicters. Present political, social, and religious crises demanded their attention so completely that they had little time to devote to thoughts of the future except as they pointed out the consequences of mistaken policies or lines of conduct. Ezekiel was apparently the first of the prophets to turn his gaze largely to the future, and his prophecies are full of valuable suggestions regarding the messianic hopes of his race. Haggai and Zechariah, who spoke soon after the close of the Babylonian period likewise threw clear light on the popular hopes of their day. It is also possible to date, with reasonable certainty, Isaiah 40–66, the book of Malachi, the prophecy of Joel, the book of Daniel, and Zechariah 9–14, and in the later period the different sections of the book of Enoch and the Psalms of Solomon. Another important aid is the close connection between the historical background and the different phases in the development of Israel's messianic hopes. With these guides and the light of internal evidence, it is possible to determine approximately the period from which the important anonymous prophecies come. On the basis of this chronological classification of the messianic prophecies, the tracing of the unfolding of Israel's hopes regarding the future is comparatively simple and definite.

Influences which gave rise to messianic prophecy: inherited traditions

Among the many different influences which gave rise to messianic prophecy one of the most important was the ideas inherited from the pre-Hebrew Semitic past. These were a part of the atmosphere in which the prophets and their readers lived and thought. The old Semitic tradition of the contest of the gods against Tiamat, the personification of Chaos, in its naturalized and Hebraized form, was constantly moulding popular belief, not only regarding the past, but also regarding the future. Out of this ancient soil largely sprang the later beliefs that Jehovah would again come as an invincible Warrior or Judge or Saviour, to put down the powers of evil and to institute a new *régimé* of righteousness and peace. The belief that the goal of all history and life was a state of blessedness, in which men should live in harmony with each other and the divine purpose, was undoubtedly largely suggested and intensified by the current traditions regarding the primitive day when certain favored individuals lived in Paradise together with God or with the gods of early Semitic religion.

Psychological tendencies

Many of the messianic hopes of Israel, as well as those of other early peoples, can be traced to universal psychological tendencies. The sense of helplessness under cruel and unjust oppression inevitably gave rise to a pow-

erful longing for a mighty deliverer to crush the oppressor and right the wrong. Present adversity and discord naturally begat hopes of a time when peace and prosperity should prevail. These hopes sprang up especially in the minds of a race who believed that a just and benign God rules the universe. Moreover, Israel, in its later periods of distress, ever had before it in memory, and still further idealized by tradition, the victories and glories of the Hebrew empire under David and Solomon. What had been they hoped would again be in larger measure. This Davidic *motif* is one which constantly recurs throughout the messianic prophecies. It was closely akin to that patriotic *motif*, which Israel again shared with every virile, conquering nation. These national ambitions are woven into the very warp and woof of Israel's messianic prophecies.

Ethical and missionary ideals

Under the influence of the preaching of the great ethical prophets of the eighth and seventh centuries B.C., more distinctly moral and religious *motifs* begin to appear. The pictures of the ideal ruler and state are presented with the practical aim of inspiring all members of the community to strive for their realization. In time, also, the missionary ideal appears to take the place of the narrow national ambitions which had characterized the earlier messianic prophecies. It is not strange, therefore, that with the blending of these many different tendencies in many different minds Israel's messianic ideals should assume very diverse forms and pass through innumerable transformations.

The three distinct types of messianic prophecy: (1) Kingly and national

Out of this seemingly hopeless confusion it is possible to distinguish three distinct types of messianic hope. The first was kingly and national. It anticipated a glorious future for the nation Israel. It was also thoroughly concrete. The object of its hope was a conquering king like David, who should overthrow and subdue Israel's foes and build up a world-wide empire. In time its ideals became more ethical and spiritual, but from first to last it anticipated a material kingdom, with its centre at Jerusalem and with the heathen nations simply as subjects of victorious Israel. It was a kingdom to be established and maintained by the sword. It was the ideal of the warrior, of the statesman, and of the popular patriot of the earlier days, as it was of the common people and the Zealots far down in the Roman period.

(2) Apocalyptic and catastrophic

The second type of messianic hope was apocalyptic and catastrophic. Its future kingdom was to be established, not by the sword of a Davidic king, but by the hand of a Divine Warrior. The heathen were to be overthrown, but not through the personal activity of the Israelites. Its watchword was the *Day of Jehovah*, which was popularly conceived of as a definite time, somewhere in the future, when Jehovah himself would appear and, by miraculous means, overthrow the hostile, wicked, heathen powers and vindicate his people, giving them the central place in the universal kingdom which he would thus by his might establish. This conception did not entirely preclude the presence of a messianic king, to rule as his viceroy, but Jehovah himself was the chief figure, both in establishing and maintaining his sovereignty. Although we are still ignorant regarding many of the phases of the messianic and kindred hopes entertained by primitive Semitic peoples, it would seem clear, in the light of the facts already known, that this type of Israel's popular hope was largely inherited from its Semitic ancestors. At the same time it was thor-

oughly naturalized and underwent many transformations during the later periods of Jewish history. It was the type of faith which appealed strongly to that mysticism which is characteristic of the oriental mind. It taught passivity rather than action. It probably appealed in the earliest times to the dreamers and pietists of ancient Israel, as it did to the Essenes and, to a great extent, to the Pharisees of the Roman period.

(3) Ethical and universal

The third type may be designated as ethical, spiritual, and universalistic. The goal of its hope was an ideal state, in which king and people should be governed in all their thoughts and acts by the principles of love and service. It was to be a kingdom in which the revealed will of Jehovah should be fully recognized and realized. It anticipated no fundamental change in the political order, but a far deeper transformation in the wills and the minds of men. It anticipated no miracle except that which comes when men yield their wills to the divine will. Its exponents, Israel's true prophets, taught that its consummation should come, not in some far-distant day, but the moment that Jehovah's people should respond to his just demands. As in time their vision broadened, they also conceived of Jehovah's rule as becoming universal, with no distinctions of race or faith; and they taught that this final consummation would come simply through the faithful, unselfish service of Jehovah's prophet-nation.

Earliest messianic hopes

Apparently from the very beginning of Israel's history these three distinct types of messianic hopes were present. It is clear that Moses stood as the exponent of the ethical, prophetic type which sought to realize Jehovah's purposes in the present and in the life of the individual. The primitive injunctions, which the earliest traditions attribute to Moses, bear witness to this fact. It is, however, the first type of the messianic hope which finds expression in Israel's poetry, as, for example, the song of Deborah and especially the so-called "Blessing of Jacob" (Gen. 49) and the oracles of Balaam, which come from the days of the united kingdom. They voice the exultation over victories secured, and the belief that these are but an earnest of the still more glorious conquests in store for Jehovah's chosen people and their king. The same belief is expressed in the form of a promise to David and to his descendants. The conditional form, however, in which it is cast implies that it comes from the days of the divided kingdom, when the Assyrian and Babylonian war-clouds had already begun to overshadow Israel's horizon.

During the days of the divided Hebrew kingdoms

From the sermons of Amos, Isaiah, and Zephaniah, it is clear that, in their day, the apocalyptic or catastrophic type of messianic hope already occupied a large place in the popular mind. Against this misleading faith, which was lacking in ethical content, and inculcated a spirit of passivity, these, the true prophets, earnestly set their faces. True, they retained the popular watchword, the *Day of Jehovah*, but they plainly declared that this was not to be a day of victory and glorious vindication for Jehovah's chosen people, but a day of well-deserved judgment and humiliation. They also taught that that day was not to come in a moment, nor through miraculous means, but through the agency of the Assyrian conquerors, who were already advancing toward the kingdoms of Israel and Judah. They also taught that this divine judgment was but a means to an end, and that end was to lead Jehovah's people

to do, as well as to know, what was the divine will. Later editors have supplemented the sermons of these great pre-exilic prophets by passages which voice both the first and the second type of messianic hope. But the evidence of the undisputed passages leaves little doubt that the prophets themselves had no sympathy with these lower, material phases of the messianic ideal. They believed and consistently taught that there was but one supreme King, and that was Jehovah; that victory came, not by the sword or the hand of men, but in accordance with the divine purpose, and that the ultimate goal was not a kingdom with bounds extending to the end of the then-known world, but the rule of God, supreme in the hearts of men.

Ezekiel's predictions of a glorious national restoration

The destruction of Jerusalem, and the mighty transformations which came into the life of the Jews as a result of that event, exerted a powerful influence upon the development of Israel's messianic ideals. Ezekiel, the great prophet of the exile, represents so nearly the popular point of view that it is now possible to follow this development with definite assurance. His predictions regarding the future are an interesting blending of the kingly and the apocalyptic types of the messianic hope. The first problem was whether the nation should be restored to its former home in Palestine. To this question he answered, Yes, in the strongest possible terms. In its behalf Jehovah would perform a great miracle. Not only should the dead nation be raised again to life, but Jehovah, like a shepherd, would gather his scattered flock and restore them to their homes. In time also he would gather all their heathen foes and completely overthrow them. In Ezekiel the apocalyptic type of messianic hope found its first great prophetic exponent.

Hopes of deliverance through a Davidic prince

Ezekiel also declared that Israel and Judah would again be united under a Davidic prince, who should rule over his people forever. It is true that, in the prophet's later portrait of the restored temple and community (40–48) the Davidic prince is assigned a very secondary part, but Ezekiel apparently first voiced the hope, which is reiterated in ever stronger terms in the anonymous prophecies which come from out the gloom of the Babylonian exile. They all bear the imprint of that great catastrophe, and they doubtless each contributed fuel to that flame of patriotic hope which burned so fiercely in the minds of Haggai and Zechariah, and those who with them rebuilt the second temple. The restoration of the Davidic house seemed to the Jewish patriots of this period absolutely indispensable to the realization of their nation's destiny. The liberation of Jehoiachin, 561 B.C., and the presence of descendants of the Davidic reigning house encouraged the people in this hope. Even as in the hour of their humiliation and oppression at the hands of the Philistines, David had come forth to lead his discouraged people to freedom and conquest, so the unknown author of the little prophecy in Micah 5^{2-4} declares that another descendant of the same illustrious family shall rise and build up a kingdom, which shall extend to the ends of the earth.

The ideals of Isaiah 9^{1-7} and 11^{1-10}

The horrors of Assyrian and Babylonian conquest, the selfishness, and fatal mistakes and cowardice of the later kings of Judah, and the pain and humiliations of the exile, as well as the noble social and ethical ideals of the great pre-exilic prophets, lie back of the famous messianic passages found in Isaiah 9^{1-7} and 11^{1-10}. Here, also, the higher kingly ideal established by Josiah is

blended in these wonderful portraits of a ruler who shall come from the deposed dynasty of David, and who shall not only establish a world-wide dominion, but who shall rule in the spirit of justice and God-given wisdom, and who shall bring to his subjects and to all mankind that peace and prosperity and happiness which for countless ages has been the dream and hope of suffering humanity. In these passages the type of kingly, messianic prophecy attained to its noblest expression and became a permanent ideal for all who rule their fellow-men.

Predictions of Haggai and Zechariah

The prophecies of Haggai and Zechariah record the culmination and the sudden extinction of the kingly Davidic type of messianic hope. The immediate background was the seeming collapse of the Persian kingdom, and the promise which this event gave of an opportunity for the Jews again to secure their freedom. The hopes centred about the person of Zerubbabel, then governor of Judah and scion of the house of David. These hopes were strengthened by the consciousness in the minds of the Judean community that, in rebuilding the temple, they were again winning Jehovah's favor, and the belief that, with his presence in their midst, they were invincible. The sermons of Haggai and Zechariah indicate clearly that these earnest prophets of the second temple firmly believed and taught that Zerubbabel would realize the popular hopes which still gathered about the house of David and that Jerusalem should speedily become the capital of a great and powerful kingdom.

The disillusionment

History is silent as to whether the crown, prepared at Zechariah's suggestion, was ever placed on the head of Zerubbabel. This silence, however, tells even more effectively than written words the story of disappointed hopes. The complete absence in the literature of the next few centuries of any reference to the Davidic hope is equally suggestive. Descendants of the house of David doubtless survived, but apparently not until the beginning of the Roman period, in the Psalms of Solomon, is this kingly Davidic hope revived.

The effect

The effect of this tragic disillusionment upon the faithful patriots in the Judean community is recorded in the eighth chapter of Zechariah. Their belief in Jehovah's ultimate restoration of his people was unshaken. As their hopes in a Davidic deliverer were disappointed, they transferred them to Jehovah, their Divine King. Henceforth in the literature of the next two or three centuries he figures more and more as the one who will gather and, in person, lead back his people. He it is who will give them victory over their cruel foes and vindicate and ultimately exalt them to a position of universal world-rulership.

The new type of hope

The majority of the messianic prophecies of this period are of the catastrophic type. Jehovah, by some great signal deliverance, is to fulfil the hopes of his people. Sometimes he figures as the Divine Warrior, going out to meet the foes of his chosen people and executing vengeance upon the heathen. Sometimes he is the Divine Judge, assembling all nations before him, condemning the proud, arrogant sinners within the Judean community, as well as their heathen allies. The hopes of this period are for the most part nationalistic. Jehovah's kingdom is to be a material one, with its centre at Jerusalem.

The missionary ideal

In certain of these prophecies, however, a new note appears. Zecharian voiced it in the prediction that many peoples and strong nations should come to seek Jehovah at Jerusalem. In the thought of these prophets the temple doors were at last opened to receive even the hated heathen who should come to them. It was the II Isaiah, the great prophet of the restoration, who first proclaimed Israel's world-wide mission and formulated most fully and nobly the messianic purpose to be realized by his nation in the life of humanity. With him Israel's messianic prophecy reached its zenith. While he echoed the current beliefs of his day that his nation should be restored, and fulfil its noble destiny, he declared that that restoration was not because of any previous promises, nor because of the deserts of the nation, but because its services were absolutely essential, if the divine purpose, which had been gradually revealed through the ages, was to be fully realized.

The ideal of service

Taking the messianic ideal of the pre-exilic prophets, the II Isaiah interprets it into universal terms and makes it concrete by painting in immortal colors the portrait of Jehovah's ideal servant. He taught that all the experiences of Israel's past, its victories and its sufferings, had been but the training of the servant nation. Recognizing the disappointments and humiliations and sufferings under which his nation was still crushed, he interpreted, with divinely given insight, the significance of sufferings, if it be but voluntarily and nobly borne. He proclaimed that Israel's highest ideal was service—service not only for themselves but for their hated heathen foes. Clearly he showed them, in his portrait of the servant, how it is possible for them to transform the humiliation and suffering of which they were then the victims into potent factors in the salvation of mankind.

The new interpretation of suffering

From the days of Hosea the prophets had declared that Jehovah was ever eager and ready to save the penitent. Hence what was required to save men was simply to arouse in them a true appreciation of their own guilt and to turn them in contrition to God. The voluntary, patient suffering of the innocent for the guilty was, and ever will be, the most powerful influence upon the minds and wills of the ignorant and unrepentant. The prophet also declared that victory should, in the end, come to those who were willing to make the great sacrifice and faithfully to serve Jehovah, even though they be despised by their own generation and suffer all that man's hatred could heap upon them. In his portrait of the suffering servant of Jehovah, the great prophet of the restoration presents a fundamentally different ideal than that which had been held up before his race in the preceding ages. The Davidic prince with his conquering sword sinks, by contrast, into insignificance. The kingdom of the prophet's vision is hemmed in by no racial barriers and its central victorious figure is neither a warrior nor a king, but a heroic sufferer destined to be crowned by later generations simply because he had proved himself a faithful servant of God and his fellow-men.

Its immediate application

It is evident, from the prophet's sermons as a whole, that he was not merely describing what the distant future would bring forth, but appealing directly to the afflicted, scattered members of his race. Opening the eyes of the pious and humble ones in the Judean community to the divine significance of their loyalty and appealing to the exiles to leave behind the oppor-

tunities and material luxuries of Babylon and Egypt, and to come back and share in the seemingly hopeless task of making Jerusalem indeed a city that would win for Jehovah the homage of all the world.

Various types of later messianic hope

Devoted patriots like Nehemiah in part realized this ideal of service, but for the great majority of the race it proved too high; the contrast was too great between its spiritual demands and the material and nationalistic hopes that for generations had filled their minds. Hence during the closing years of the Persian and the succeeding Greek period there were as many different currents of messianic hope as there were parties in Judaism. The psalmists who speak through Psalms 96–100 saw ever more clearly the outlines of the kingdom of God embracing all races and founded on the eternal principles of justice, mercy, and good-will toward men; but the patriots who rallied about Judas and the other Maccabean leaders apparently still clung to the old hope of a world-judgment, in which all those who did not pay homage to Jehovah at his sanctuary should be mercilessly cut off (Zech. 14).

Belief in the angelic Messiah

As the theological teachers of later Judaism developed still further Ezekiel's conception of Jehovah as a transcendent God, far removed from contact with earthly things, the intermediary angelic beings occupied an ever increasingly important place in their thought. The belief that Jehovah himself would come as a warrior to conquer and to judge their foes and to reign over them as king seemed inconsistent with their idea of the Deity. On the other hand, the old Davidic messianic hope did not satisfy. The result was that there sprang up a belief in an angelic Messiah, not a man, but one like a son of man, who should come on the clouds and gather together the martyrs who had died and the faithful still living and thus establish the kingdom of the righteous on the earth (cf. Introd. to § 212). In the book of Daniel this angelic Messiah is identified with Israel's guardian angel Michael. In the Similitudes of Enoch (Enoch 37–71) and IV Esdras the Son of Man is definitely identified with the Messiah. He is described as pre-existent, and the conception of his transcendent character and eternal rule is further developed. In these portraits one recognizes the influence of the ancient Semitic beliefs which in this later age occupied a large place in the thought of Judaism. These later hopes are, on the whole, more exalted and spiritual than the early kingly messianic ideals. They rise from the temporal and material and national to the contemplation of that which is eternal and universal; they also hold up to mankind the hope of individual immortality, and yet they are far removed from the simple, ethical ideals of the pre-exilic prophets and of the II Isaiah, who appealed to the wills and minds of men and who sought to realize in the life of their nation the principles of justice and mercy and of love to God and man.

Later revival of the Davidic hopes

As the reverence for the written words grew, as it did rapidly in the later period, the Jewish teachers felt under compulsion to accept as authoritative all the various types of messianic prophecy which they found included in their Scriptures. The task which they attempted was impossible of achievement. The result was inevitable and hopeless confusion. As a matter of fact different parties singled out different types of messianic prophecy to which to pin their faith. Under the grinding heel of Rome, the Zealots and many

of the common people naturally reverted to the old nationalistic and kingly messianic hopes. They looked for a son of David who would free them from their oppressors and build up for the Jews a world-wide kingdom.

Dominance of the apocalyptic type of hope

The Pharisees and the Essenes apparently fixed their faith on the more transcendental, apocalyptic, and catastrophic type of messianic prophecy, and prayed ardently for the day when one like a son of man should appear on the clouds of heaven to inaugurate the reign of the saints. It would seem clear that the great majority of the nation had almost lost sight of the simple ethical ideals of the early prophets, and of the II Isaiah's matchless portrait of the suffering, yet victorious, servant of Jehovah. And yet in the light of history it was clear that the latter stood as Israel's noblest ideal, in comparison with which all else was but a misleading will-o'-the-wisp.

Jesus' attitude toward the messianic hopes of his race

The older sources imbedded in the Gospels of the New Testament tell with rare simplicity and beauty of how Jesus of Nazareth, God's Anointed, grasped the eternal purpose and, as the Lover and Teacher of men, entered upon his divine task of saving the few whom he was able to touch directly, and through them all mankind. Accepting the teachings, the methods, and the aims of Israel's noblest prophets and sages, he devoted himself wholly and completely to saving those who were lost. The fanciful speculations and hopes which largely occupied the attention of the leaders of his race he put aside with the simple statement, *The future no man knoweth.* It was inevitable that later generations of Christians—the great majority of whom had been brought up at the feet of the rabbis—should associate with Jesus many of the ideals which seemed supremely vital to later Judaism. The actual Jesus of history, however, failed completely to satisfy the ideals of the Jewish leaders of his day. This failure confirms the testimony of the oldest Gospels that he himself rejected those ideals and went back to the simple eternal teachings of the true prophets. In realizing and more than realizing the lofty ideal of the suffering servant of Jehovah, in fulfilling—that is, bringing to fuller and more complete expression—the noblest teachings of the earlier law and prophets, and in revealing through his own life the very character and will of God himself, he became not only Israel's true Messiah, but the universal Saviour of men.

VIII

THE LITERARY FORM OF THE OLD TESTAMENT PROPHECIES

Reasons why the prophets spoke in the language of poetry

It is a significant fact that all the writings of the pre-exilic and the majority of those of the exilic and the post-exilic prophets were originally uttered or written in poetic form. Three explanations of this fact may be suggested. The first is that from earliest times the oracles of the seer and prophet were expressed in the form of poetry. This tradition had undoubtedly been firmly established long before the days of Amos. The second reason is more fundamental. Poetry alone was fitted to express that blending of exalted thought and strong emotion which constituted the prophet's message. Finally, the finished, attractive, poetic form in which the prophetic oracles were cast contributed greatly to their effectiveness in appealing to the intelligence and feeling of the people whom the prophet wished to influence. The prophets were poets under the compulsion of the great truths that were struggling within them for utterance, but they were also poets by intention, as the careful development of their figures clearly indicates.

Characteristics of Hebrew poetry: parallelism

The poetry of the prophets, like all Hebrew poetry, is characterized by two and sometimes three types of rhythm. The first is parallelism, or rhythm of ideas—that is, the second line of each couplet repeats the same thought in similar or contrasting terms or else develops still further the idea presented in the first line. To the oriental ear repetition of thought was as pleasing as is rhyme to the occidental. This rhythm of ideas, which the Hebrews shared with most other ancient oriental peoples, is an invaluable aid in interpreting the prophetic writings, for, if the meaning of one line is not clear, it is usually illuminated by the other member of the couplet.

Regular measured beats

Hebrew like English poetry is also characterized by symmetry in the number of beats or accented syllables in each succeeding line. The three-beat measure was the one most commonly employed by the prophets. Poetry written in this measure was usually clear, straightforward, energetic, and rarely cumbersome or involved. The two-beat measure was used occasionally to express great excitement, as, for example, when the approach of an enemy was announced. The formal four-beat measure is also almost equally rare. It was apparently employed for variety or in formal argumentation. The most common measure, next to the three-beat, was the five-beat. Ordinarily it consisted of a three-beat followed by a two-beat measure. It was used to express strong emotion, whether of sorrow, as the mourners wailed over the bier of the dead, or of joy and exultation, shot through with deep emotion, as

when a prophet proclaimed the glorious future, which Jehovah, in his love was preparing for his people.

Strophic rhythm

The third characteristic of Hebrew poetry, which appears occasionally in the writings of the prophets, was the rhythm of succeeding strophe. Often there is the same repeating or contrasting or expanding parallelism between succeeding strophes, as between the succeeding lines in a couplet (cf., for a fuller treatment of the characteristics of Hebrew poetry, Vol. V, *in loco*).

Rhythm of words

In addition to these fundamental characteristics of Hebrew poetry, many of the prophets rendered their messages still more effective by a careful use of onomatopoetic words, in which the Hebrew language is especially rich, so that every sound which reached the ear drove home the truths the prophets wished to teach. Alliteration, assonance, and even rhyme were sometimes employed.

Poetic figures

Their figures were also drawn from nature or else the familiar life of the people whom they addressed. Palestine, with its striking contrast, with its dashing storms and tempests, its hot siroccos, its snowy peaks, its borders of burning sands and roaring sea, with its varied fauna and flora, furnished rich materials for the use of the prophet-poets. Most of the prophets were also masters of the familiar figures, such as the metaphor, the simile, and metonomy; but their sermons are especially rich in the figures of feeling, such as the apostrophe, personification, interrogation, and exclamation.

Brevity of statement

In the earlier prophets the reader is impressed by the remarkable brevity and compression which characterizes the prophetic addresses. This characteristic was probably an inheritance from the ancient seer who cast his oracle in brief and often in epigrammatic form. A word, a simile, often simply an exclamation from the lips of these Hebrew prophets expresses more than would a dozen sentences in the mouth of a modern orator.

The preservation of the pre-exilic prophecies

The pre-exilic, in contrast to the post-exilic prophets, depended on the spoken rather than the written word. With them writing appears to have been only one of the many ways which they employed to convey their teachings. It is a question whether Amos would have ever resorted to writing had he not been prevented from speaking to the people of Northern Israel. The present form of Hosea's and Isaiah's writings indicate that they paid little attention to editing them. Doubtless hundreds of the sermons delivered by the pre-exilic prophets were never committed to writing. Those which have been recorded are in most cases only fragmentary. It is not certain that these early prophets themselves wrote down their sermons. The one definite bit of testimony, that of Jeremiah 36, indicates that they were sometimes at least dictated to a scribe. In the case of Jeremiah this was done many years after they had been delivered. In all probability most of the pre-exilic prophetic writings owe their existence to the devotion of the faithful disciples of the prophets who, like Baruch, sought to preserve the writings of their masters.

The editing and revising of the prophetic writings

To the disciples of the prophets and to later editors is also probably due the present order of the pre-exilic writings. The longer books, like Isaiah and Jeremiah, give evidence of repeated editing. The profound regard for the sanctity of the written word, which characterized the later scribes, seems to have been unknown in the earlier period. Later prophetic editors felt perfect liberty, and often under obligation to adapt the earlier oracles to the

needs and point of view of their own age. As a rule, the greater the authority of the prophet the more thorough the later revision of his original writings. A convincing illustration of this tendency is furnished by a comparison of the Greek and Hebrew versions of the book of Jeremiah. The Hebrew is fully one-eighth longer than the Greek version. In a few instances the Greek text may represent an abridgment of the longer original, but in most cases the Hebrew has been clearly expanded by the additions of later scribes.

Later errors and additions

Detailed comparisons of the texts of the same passage as, for example, Isaiah 2^{1-4} and Micah 4^{1-7} reveal, in practically every case where such duplication occurs, variations, due to errors or else to the freedom with which the early scribes treated their text. This evidence, which is confirmed by many similar duplicates in the Psalms and other Old Testament writings, proves beyond a shadow of doubt, that many variations from the original have crept into our Hebrew text, and that one of the most important tasks of modern biblical scholarship is, with the aid of available guides, to restore as far as possible this original text. At the same time it is even more essential that this restoration should not be done arbitrarily, but conservatively and in accordance with established principles.

Causes of scribal errors

These variations from the original text assume many different forms, according to the causes which gave rise to them. Many are due simply to the errors of copyists. Sometimes a word or clause is repeated; sometimes the eye of the scribe passed to a similar word occurring later in the sentence, with the result that the intervening words were left out or else introduced at another place in the text; sometimes the scribe mistook similar Hebrew words or divided the letters differently from the original. In some cases the original copy was obliterated; in other cases the errors are due to the attempt of the scribes to restore a broken or confused text. In their eagerness to preserve all the writings of a prophet, later scribes often incorporated marginal notes left by some earlier copyist. Frequently, when an unfamiliar Hebrew word was used, a scribe has added, in the text, its better-known equivalent. Often explanatory notes are incorporated in the text in order to make the meaning clear. In other cases the text is expanded by the repetition of words and phrases suggested by the context. Many of the variations between the Hebrew and Greek texts of Jeremiah are due to this tendency. One of the chief tendencies which gave rise to later additions was, as has already been noted, a desire to adjust, for example, a prophecy of denunciation and destruction to the needs of a later and more hopeful age. Much of the present book of Isaiah consists of additions of this type which clearly reflect the exilic and post-exilic point of view. Not a little of the obscurity and consequent neglect and misunderstanding of the prophetic books is due to these causes.

Literary history of the prophetic books

It would seem that most of the pre-exilic books passed through at least five different stages in their literary history. The first was the fuller verbal form, in which the prophecy was first delivered. The second was its literary form, as recorded by the prophet or his amanuensis. The third stage was its revision by later prophets to adapt it to the point of view of their age. In the fourth stage it was supplemented by minor scribal notes. The last stage, which really began when the prophecy was committed to writing, represents

the transformations due to the errors of copyists. Some of the earlier prophetic writings were subject to this later influence for fully a thousand years before the work of the Massoretic editors insured a reasonably stable text.

Evidences of variations or later additions

Each textual problem must be considered by itself, and yet there are certain general guides which aid in distinguishing between that which is primary and that which is secondary. Among the more important evidences of additions to the original text are: (1) variations from the prophet's characteristic vocabulary and literary style; (2) words or clauses which interrupt the logical sequence or else are very loosely connected with the context; (3) words which destroy the regular metrical structure of the verse; (4) wide variations in thought and teaching from those contained in the sections unquestionably genuine; (5) allusions to the events of an age subsequent to that of the original prophet; (6) reflections of the ideas and interests of a later age; and (7) obvious products of the scribal tendency to repeat, expand, or explain words or phrases found in the original text. Followed with care and sanity, these indices point the way to a translation which is certainly far nearer the original than those based simply on the traditional Hebrew text in its present corrupt form.

History of the titles and superscriptions

As a rule, the titles of the different prophecies come from the hands of later scribes. The prophets and their contemporaries knew well who was the author of a given prophecy and therefore there was no need of a superscription. It was not until the name of a prophet was beginning to be forgotten that the demand for titles and superscriptions arose. Jeremiah and Ezekiel were the first prophets who began to date their individual prophecies. In the earlier days questions of authorship and date were evidently regarded as of little importance, as long as the prophet's message was imparted to his people. The result is that the few meagre titles which have been preserved aid little in determining the dates of the pre-exilic prophetic writings. As in the case of many other Old Testament books, the student is dependent almost entirely, in determining the date, upon internal evidence, that is, upon the characteristics of literary style, upon allusions to historical events, and upon the type of thought and theological belief presented in each writing. While the testimony of internal evidence is not always decisive, it is absolutely trustworthy, for it is the testimony of the prophetic writers themselves.

Contents of the book of Amos

The prophecies of Amos, the oldest prophetic addresses preserved in the Old Testament, are not the crude products of a primitive stage, but are among the noblest examples of the prophet's literary skill. The book itself falls naturally into three general divisions. The first, chapters 1 and 2, is the introduction and contains a group of brief oracles of judgment directed first against Israel's hereditary foes, and then culminating in a grim, relentless oracle against Northern Israel itself. The second division, including chapters 3–6, is the main body of the book. It is in the form of a judicial charge against the different guilty classes in the nation. These charges are supplemented by arguments, exhortations, lamentations, and warnings. A clear-cut logic characterizes each section, but the prophet frequently reverts to an earlier theme in order to develop it more thoroughly, so that the division as a whole contains a series of cycles of woe, condemnation, and doom. The third

division, 7–9, consists of visions, in which, by means of graphic pictures, the same messages of judgment and warning are effectively reiterated and illustrated.

Amos's literary style

Amos's literary style is calm, judicial, logical, and supremely forceful. His figures are exceedingly varied, and are drawn, for the most part, from the shepherd life with which he and his hearers were most familiar. While he uses these figures freely, there is a marvellous concreteness and vividness in his utterance which left no doubt in the minds of his audience as to whom they were addressed and what the prophet wished to say. The whole is transfused with strong emotion, which is the outgrowth of Amos's own personal feeling and experience.

Hosea's sermons

The sermons of Hosea fall, naturally, into two general divisions. The first, 1–3, contains the prophet's earlier addresses, which were based on his own tragic private experience. The second, 4–14, consists of extracts from different sermons, probably delivered after the death of Jereboam II in 740, and before Tiglath-pileser IV invaded Northern Israel in 735 B.C. Impassioned denunciation and exhortation take the place of the calmer judicial arraignments found in the book of Amos. The language is that of the heart and feelings rather than of the logical mind. In originality and boldness of figure they are surpassed by no other prophetic writings. Exclamation, apostrophe, and interrogation are employed with great effectiveness, but the style is often obscure because it lacks logical unity and depends for expression largely on gesture and intonation and the deeper currents of feeling, which inevitably escape the modern reader.

Strength of Isaiah's diction

Hosea's contemporary, the young Isaiah of Jerusalem, was the recognized prince of prophetic orators. The rich storehouse of illustration inherited from Israel's past was at his ready command. He was in touch with every side of his nation's life. Supreme crises spurred him on to heroic diction. He also spoke with an assurance, which was in part the product of his birth and training. He blends the literary strength of Amos and Hosea, for he has the judicial logic of the former and much of the feeling of the latter. His sentences are like sledge-hammer blows, struck with precision and in rapid succession, breaking down before him all opposition.

History of the book of Isaiah

Unfortunately the prophecies of Isaiah are not arranged, at present, in chronological order. The book has evidently been frequently edited and supplemented. This repeated re-editing is one of the many testimonials of the esteem with which the prophet was regarded by later generations. Not only were the writings of the II Isaiah (40–66) added, but also shorter appendices after every important division. The result is that the book is more than twice as large as when it came from the prophet.

Its contents

Isaiah's original prophecies are found in the first thirty-nine chapters. These fall naturally into eight or nine divisions. The general introduction, chapter 1, is followed by a group of social sermons, 2–5, to which also belongs 9^8–10^4. These represent the first period of Isaiah's activity, from 740–735 B.C. The second stage of Isaiah's work, which was in connection with the crisis of 734 B.C., is recorded in 7 and 8. These chapters are introduced by an account of the prophet's call, in 6, and are supplemented by the messianic prophecies

in 9^{1-7}, 11, 12. The next group contains a collection of foreign prophecies. 13–23, of various dates. Some of these are from Isaiah, but the majority are, apparently, from otherwise unknown later prophets. Chapters 24–27 are a very late apocalypse, describing Jehovah's final judgment of the world. The original sermons in 28–31 were delivered in connection with the crisis of 701 B.C. Chapters 34, 35 contain another post-exilic apocalypse. The historical chapters, 36, 37, tell of Isaiah's work in the fourth and last great period of his activity, while 38 and 39 record certain events preceding the invasion of Sennacherib in 701 B.C.

Micah's prophecies

Isaiah's younger colleague Micah had the direct, resistless style of Amos. With all the strength of his vigorous invective he attacked certain definite evils in Judah. His original addresses are found in chapters 1–3. To these later editors have appended, in 4 and 5, strongly contrasting predictions regarding the future deliverance and glory of Jerusalem. Evidently these chapters were written after the Babylonian exile. The third division of the book, 6^{1}–7^{8}, is in the same direct, forceful style as the opening chapters and deals with the evils which flourished in Israel's early history. The closing section, chapters 7^{9-30}, like many of the psalms of the Psalter, reflects the trials and hopes of the post-exilic Judean community.

Prophecy of Nahum

The little prophecy of Nahum has all the vigor and strenuousness which characterized the prophets of the Assyrian period. It deals with but one theme, the coming fall of Nineveh, but the first chapter has evidently been supplemented by extracts from an alphabetical psalm describing Jehovah's avenging might. The original prophecy portrays in most vivid imagery the advance of Nineveh's foes and the resulting terror and confusion within the city. It concludes with the songs of rejoicing which will be sung over the city's downfall by the nations which, like Judah, had experienced the untold horrors of Assyrian conquest.

Zephaniah's note of warning

The brief prophecy of Zephaniah is a clarion cry of warning and a call to reform. In its five-beat, measured stanzas the reader feels the terror inspired by the advance of the dread Scythians and the greater horror which the true prophets felt as they contemplated the heathen practices which had been introduced into Judah during the reign of Manasseh. Through the prophet's eyes one may, in imagination, follow the devastating advance of the dread invaders and, at the same time, see in these events the vindication of Jehovah's justice and the working out of his eternal, benign purpose.

Contents of his book

The prophecy falls into four divisions. The first chapter describes Jehovah's day of judgment upon Judah; the second, its effect upon Judah's powerful neighbors. The third division, 3^{1-7}, analyzes the crimes of the different classes in Jerusalem; while the last division, 3^{8-20}, contains a post-exilic supplement abounding in promises of national restoration and glory.

History of the book of Jeremiah

The book of Jeremiah is the most complex of all the Old Testament prophecies. Many of the sermons which it contains have evidently passed through repeated revisions. It consists, in its present form, of different collections of Jeremian literature which were once distinct. It includes not only the prophet's original sermons, but traditions regarding his preaching and many narratives regarding his personal experiences. In some cases the original

sermon and the popular tradition regarding it have been preserved. The same common proper names are differently spelled in different parts of the book, clearly revealing the work of various narrators and editors. The result is that the present book of Jeremiah is not only a collection of the prophet's original sermons, but is also a biography recording the memories and impressions of the prophet, as they were recalled by Baruch and later writers who held in ever-increasing esteem the authority and character of the great prophet.

Contents of the book of Jeremiah

In its final form the book of Jeremiah may be divided into nine general divisions. The first, 1–17, contains the prophet's early reform sermons. They are supplemented by his personal prayers and complaints because of the persecutions which he suffered at the hands of his countrymen. In this section there is evidence of a definite attempt to arrange the subject-matter in chronological order. Here are found the extracts from the earlier sermons which, according to chapter 36, were collected by the prophet himself in the year 605–604 B.C. The second division includes chapters 18–20. It contains narratives concerning Jeremiah's preaching and persecution during the days of Jehoiakim. The third division, 21–24, is a collection of prophecies, drawn from different periods of Jeremiah's activity, which deal with the mistakes and crimes of Judah's rulers. These sermons are arranged in approximately chronological order. In the Greek version chapter 25 introduces the group of foreign prophecies now found in 46–51. The fifth group (26–29) record Jeremiah's relations with the false prophets and his predictions concerning them. In 30–33 is found a little group of messianic prophecies which perhaps formed the conclusion to an exilic edition of Jeremiah's book. The seventh group, 34^{1}–40^{6}, is another collection of biographical narratives. Here the chronological order is entirely disregarded. Chapters 40^{7}–44^{14} recorded Jeremiah's experiences with the Jews who survived the fall of Jerusalem and who ultimately found refuge in Egypt. To this has been appended 45, which is a brief oracle regarding Baruch. The ninth and last division, chapter 52, is an historic appendix telling of the final destruction of Jerusalem.

Jeremiah's literary style

The present book of Jeremiah, especially in the Hebrew form with its many cumbersome repetitions, gives the reader a false impression of Jeremiah's literary style, for many of these chapters are but the fragmentary traditions regarding what he actually said. Fortunately the earlier sections contain extracts from many of his original sermons. These reveal an exceedingly finished, well-rounded style, abounding in strong and varied figures and imbued with a wealth of powerful emotion. Jeremiah, like Hosea, spoke in the language of the heart rather than that of the head. His arraignment of the sins of his people lacks the uncompromising judicial harshness of his colleague Zephaniah. Repeatedly he breaks forth into lamentations over the crimes of his people, or else voices, with supreme tenderness and yearning, Jehovah's love for them and his eagerness to forgive if they will but repent. In practically every address Jeremiah appears to have used the impassioned five-beat measure, which was superlatively well adapted to his theme and spirit.

Ezekiel's style

The contrast between the literary style of Jeremiah and Ezekiel is world-wide. The one was a poet by nature and his thoughts found spontaneous expression in the language of the emotions. The other was judicial in his con-

creteness and precision. The result is that his style is at times verbose and repetitious. He was not lacking in imagination, but it was of the mechanical, formal, symbolic type. Sometimes he broke forth into poetry, and there is a constant suggestion of poetic parallelism running through his sermons; but for the most part he wrote in carefully elaborated prose.

Characteristics of the apocalypse

Ezekiel was also the first Old Testament prophet to use the apocalyptic style. By the apocalyptic style is meant the use of symbols, usually drawn from the natural world, as a medium for presenting prophetic truth. Ordinarily it deals with the future rather than with the past or present. Its primary aim was to conceal and at the same time reveal truth, so that only those for whom it was written could appreciate its meaning. It was also intended to arouse the curiosity and to fix in the mind of the reader the truth thus presented. Although the apocalypse became a characteristic type of Israel's later prophecy, its beginning may be traced back to the days of David in the so-called oracles of Balaam, where the ancient seer is pictured as saying, regarding Israel:

> I see him, but not now;
> I behold him, but not near;
> A star comes forth out of Jacob,
> And a sceptre arises out of Israel,
> And shatters the temples of Moab,
> And the skull of all the sons of Seth (Num. 24[17]).

Ordinarily the apocalyptic type of literature was developed in a period of persecution, such as the Babylonian exile and the later crises in the history of Judaism. It is far removed from the straightforward direct address of the pre-exilic prophets. Although the apocalypse proper is cast in the form of a dream or vision, it appears to have always been the product of careful elaboration.

Contents of the book of Ezekiel

The book of Ezekiel includes four general divisions. Chapters 1–24, with the exception of 19, were apparently all written before the fall of Jerusalem and deal with the problems of the Judean state under Zedekiah. The second group, 25–32, consists of prophecies regarding foreign nations. The third division, 33–39, to which should be added 19, was written after the final fall of Jerusalem and is concerned with the problems of the exiles. The fourth division, 40–48, contains Ezekiel's programme for the restored temple and Jewish community. His writings have been carefully edited, probably by the prophet himself, and are in the main in chronological order.

Literary style of Haggai and Zechariah

The brief prophecy of Haggai the layman, like its author, is plain, direct, and matter-of-fact. It is a blending of prose and poetry although, on the whole, the prose element predominates. The same is true of the literary style of Haggai's colleague Zechariah. The teachings of this priest-prophet, found in the first six chapters of his prophecy, consist for the most part of visions regarding the future of the Judean community. Apparently he used this apocalyptic style of teaching, that he might, in impressive form, convey his teachings to his hearers and at the same time escape the charge of rebellion against Persian rule. This style is abandoned, however, in chapters 7 and 8, which contain earnest addresses, full of counsel and encouragement, to his dis-

couraged countrymen. In 8, as well as in 4, the prophet also rises to noble and inspiring poetic expression. As has already been noted (p. 36), the last division of the book of Zechariah is an appendix regarding the overthrow of the heathen and the establishment of Jehovah's kingdom, which comes from a much later period.

Literary characteristics of the II Isaiah

The crowning literary product of the Old Testament prophets is the marvellous collection of poems found in Isaiah 40–66. Here nobility of theme, breadth of outlook, wealth of figure, and strong emotion are marvellously blended. The prophet's literary kinship, however, is with the later rather than with the earlier prophets. In the opening prophecies his vision is fixed on the universe as a whole rather than on the specific problems of little Judah. Although concealed by his inimitable style, there is, in his prophecies, a large element of repetition and his ideas are developed with an elaborateness very different, and yet comparable to that which characterizes Ezekiel's writings.

Unity of Isaiah 40–66

The poems found in Isaiah 40–66 are not a closely connected unit. They are rather a collection of songs, written probably on different occasions. The same themes frequently recur, and yet from beginning to end there is distinct progress, a progress that suggests a development in the prophet's own experience from the buoyancy and optimism of youth to that increased knowledge of specific facts and closer contact with conditions in the Judean community which came with maturer years. Ordinarily these chapters are divided at the end of 55, and the latter half is attributed to still another prophet, conventionally designated as the Trito or III Isaiah. As has already been noted, and will be illustrated further in connection with the detailed prophecies, the grounds urged for this separation are far from convincing. On the other hand, the same exuberant poetic style, the same words and idioms, the same peculiar ideas and ideals characterize these twenty-seven chapters from beginning to end. Even the advocates of a III Isaiah admit that he is a close imitator—little more than a shadow—of the II Isaiah. Recognizing the differences in theme between the various parts of Isaiah 40–66, and granting that they represent a prophet's life-work, the reasons for separating these chapters, which are bound together so closely, almost, if not wholly, disappear. They fall naturally, according to theme, into two parts; chapters 40–55 and 60–62 deal with the destiny of the chosen people; while 56–59, 63–66 are messages of exhortation and denunciation addressed to the Judean community.

The book of Obadiah

Three other short books come from the second part of the Persian period. One is the brief book of Obadiah, a forceful proclamation of the doom that has already overtaken Israel's ancient foes the Edomites. Its impassioned stanzas reflect the hostility which had grown only deeper and more deadly as a result of centuries of cruel warfare. It also voices the popular hope that at last Jehovah was about to vindicate his people by overthrowing their ancient foes of whom the Edomites were the types.

The book of Malachi

The author of the book of Malachi writes in poetry but he lacks the vigor and finished literary style of his immediate predecessors. His themes, the disregard of the temple ritual and the petty crimes of the ruling classes, were not calculated to inspire exalted utterance. An earnest and hopeful spirit, however, is revealed in these four short chapters.

The prophecy of Joel

Joel, the closing prophet of the Persian period, is highly poetic in form and gives evidence of careful literary work. Like most of these post-exilic prophecies, it is full of echoes and quotations of earlier prophetic writings, and like all imitative poetry, it lacks the strength and conciseness of a more original utterance. The prophet portrays in lurid colors the coming day of Jehovah. The details are developed at length, and one is constantly impressed with the evidence of conscious effort, and misses those broad, simple, fresco strokes which characterized the wonderful pictures painted by Isaiah and his contemporaries.

The stories of Jonah and Daniel

In the brief book of Jonah the prophet throws aside the ancient oracle and goes back to the plain prose story, such as is found in the opening chapters of Genesis, in order to teach his great prophetic truths. In this respect he was but a forerunner of the author of the first six chapters of Daniel and the teachers of later Judaism, who used the parable and didactic story with great effectiveness. Notwithstanding the fact that it is simple prose, the story of Jonah is a remarkable example of concise dramatic narration and adaptation to the prophet's purpose. The same is true of the opening chapters of the book of Daniel. They lack, however, the conciseness of the story of Jonah. In their frequent though stately repetitions they show the influence of the ceremonial, priestly atmosphere in which they took form.

Literary characteristics of Daniel 7–12

In the last six chapters of the book of Daniel, the Old Testament apocalypse reached its zenith. They well illustrate the illusiveness and vagueness which characterize the pure apocalyptic style. Their symbolism is cumbersome, though impressive, even as was the ceremonial ritual of the temple; for both were the product of the same dominant psychological tendency of the age. The fascination of these closing chapters of Daniel is the note of mystery which runs through them. Through the eyes of Daniel the reader catches fugitive visions of that heavenly world which occupied such a large place in the thought of later Judaism.

Their contents and permanent value

The prophet's purpose in these chapters is to pierce the future and to determine what it holds in store. His real theme is the overthrow of the tyrant Antiochus Epiphanes and the establishment of Jehovah's kingdom. The literary form which he employs is the vision. Chapter 9 represents an attempt to interpret, in the light of history, Jeremiah's declaration that the exile should last but seventy years. Chapters 7, 8, 10–12 contain three parallel visions, which review the past history of the world, beginning with the Babylonian period and extending to the reign of Antiochus during which the prophet lived and wrote. Each succeeding vision, in the form of a prediction, traces the past history in greater detail and concludes with a picture of the overthrow of Antiochus and the speedy establishment of the kingdom of the saints of the Most High. The detailed analysis of the elements which have entered into these visions and the elaborate interpretation of their meaning indicate that, like the visions of Ezekiel and Zechariah, they are not the mere report of what was seen by the prophet in a trance, but carefully worked out literary products. Their permanent value is found not in the detailed predictions, but in the broader principles which underlie them. They teach the unity of all history and the presence of the divine hand at each stage in its de-

velopment. The doctrine that wrong and suffering and oppression are but for the moment, and that the ultimate vindication and establishment of Jehovah's just and universal rule are absolutely assured must be counted among Israel's greatest contributions to the faith of mankind. To this *is* added the confident belief in the immortality of the individual. Thus in Israel's later prophecies the old national bonds are broken, and the messages of the prophets look beyond this present life and become individual and universal.

THE HISTORY OF ISRAEL'S LAWS AND LEGAL PRECEDENTS

I

THE BABYLONIAN BACKGROUND OF ISRAEL'S LAWS

The dawn of civilization in ancient Babylonia

In the light of recent discoveries, the study of ancient law begins to-day, not with the legal system of Israel, of Greece, or of Rome, but with that of early Babylonia. Long centuries before the days of Moses or Minos or Romulus, the peoples living between the lower waters of the Tigris and the Euphrates developed legal codes that deeply influenced all subsequent legislation. This early rise of law in ancient Babylonia is primarily traceable to the physical contour and position of the land itself. For countless generations beyond the dawn of history, the rich alluvial territory lying between the two great rivers attracted the nomadic peoples of every quarter of southwestern Asia. The soil of this coveted region could be reclaimed from the annual floods, and permanently held against the strong foes ever pressing in from the east and west, only by the most arduous toil of hand and head. While Nature early spurred the mixed, virile population of ancient Babylonia to develop a high type of civilization, she generously rewarded its persistent labor. In return for skilful cultivation the land furnished lavish harvests; for the development of the arts it also provided abundant facilities, not the least of which was the soft clay of the river-banks, a material early utilized for buildings, for military defences, and for literary records.

Why it was a commercial civilization

Natural gate-ways opened in every direction for commerce. The Tigris and Euphrates with their tributaries penetrated far into the populous highlands to the east and north of Babylonia. On the west, the Arameans and Arabs, the great land traders, carried Babylonian wares to the Phœnicians, Egyptians, and southern Arabians, and in turn brought back the products of those other centres of ancient civilization. To the south, the Persian Gulf opened into the Indian Ocean and commanded the trade of Arabia and India. It is not strange, therefore, that Babylonia early developed a rich, dominantly commercial civilization, the influence of which radiated throughout the known world.

Early development of law and the art of writing

This intense commercial activity explains why the art of writing and the making of law attained in Babylonia so high a stage of development; commerce demands for its development exact written records and the protection of just and well-defined laws. Hence, for more than a thousand years before the days of Moses, the Babylonians had so far perfected their system of writing that it was in as general use as writing was among the Greeks or

Romans, or as it is to-day among most oriental peoples. The scribes constituted a large and important class in the community. Every important transaction was recorded in written contracts, usually duplicated to guard against injury to individual copies. All important judicial decisions were likewise recorded. Hundreds of thousands of these legal documents have already been discovered in the ruins of Babylonia and Assyria. Obviously, this remarkable command of the art of writing was of great service in the development of definite laws and legal codes. Among a primitive nomadic or agricultural people a few simple customs, at first transmitted orally from generation to generation, sufficed to meet the popular needs; but in a complex commercial civilization, a great variety of legal questions arose and were decided. It was the Babylonian custom to commit to writing all legal decisions; and these became the basis of an ever-growing body of written laws.

The Sumerian family laws

The few popular traditions attributing to a certain god the origin of Babylonian law, throw no light upon its earliest beginnings. Its origin is far older than the most primitive history and literature of the human race. In the legal phrase-books of the later scribes chance has preserved to us seven so-called Sumerian laws; they are written in the archaic language of the very early, though highly civilized, people that occupied the southern part of the Tigris-Euphrates valley before it came under the sway of the Semites. These laws were probably in existence in the fourth millennium B.C.; the origin of some of them doubtless goes thousands of years farther back. The fragments which have been preserved treat of family relations; as, for example, *If a son has said to his father, "You are not my father," he may brand him, lay fetters upon him, and sell him* (cf. for the others, Appendix II). The literary form and themes are the same as those of the later Babylonian and the early Old Testament laws.

The recently discovered Code of Hammurabi

By far the most important code yet discovered comes from about 1900 B.C. It bears the name of the real founder of the Babylonian empire, already well known to scholars through his letters and historical inscriptions, the great Hammurabi. The laws are clearly inscribed in forty-four columns on an almost square block of black diorite. It was found by French excavators at Susa in December, 1901, and January, 1902. Five columns of the original inscription have been erased by the Elamite king who carried it off as spoil, probably from the temple of Shamash at Sippara where it was first set up. Three thousand six hundred lines, however, still remain. These were arbitrarily divided into sections and numbered by the first translator, Professor V. Scheil of Paris, and this division into sections has been generally adopted for reference.

Purpose of this code

In the remarkable epilogue which he appended, Hammurabi plainly states the motives that guided him as a ruler, and led him to prepare and set up this body of laws. He describes himself as the shepherd chosen by the gods to care for his people, to lead them into safe pastures, and to make them dwell in peace and security. *That the great should not oppress the weak, to counsel the widow and orphan, to render judgment and to decide the decisions of the land, and to succor the injured,* he wrote these noble words on his stele

and placed them before his likeness. *By the command of Shamash, the judge supreme of heaven and earth, that justice might shine in the land,* he set up a bas-relief to preserve his likeness. At the head of the laws is an exceedingly suggestive picture representing Hammurabi receiving them from the seated sun-god Shamash. The epilogue also adds: *The oppressed who has a suit to prosecute may come to my image, that of a righteous king, and read my inscription and understand my precious words, and may my stele elucidate his case. Let him see the law he seeks, and may he draw his breath and say, "This Hammurabi was a ruler who was to his people like the father who begot them. He obeyed the order of Marduk his lord, he followed the commands of Marduk above and below. He delighted the heart of Marduk his lord, and granted happy life to his people forever." Let him recite the document.* These words betray a benign, God-fearing, paternal ruler, actuated by the principles that underlie all just legislation.

Contents and general character

The contents of the code confirm the implications of its epilogue. The code consists entirely of civil laws dealing with specific legal questions that were constantly arising in the empire over which Hammurabi ruled. Briefly and clearly the given offence or case of dispute is stated; then the penalty or course of legal action is definitely outlined; as, for example, *If a man has borne false witness in a trial, or has not established the statement that he has made, if that case be a capital trial, the man shall be put to death.* The code was evidently prepared for the guidance of judges no less than for those seeking justice. The aim, apparently, was not to present every possible case, but, leaving the more unusual to be decided by the judge, to register the common and typical. Unlike most oriental literary products, the laws have been systematically classified. They are included under three great heads with subdivisions: I. Introduction on evidence and decisions; II. Property, (1) personal, (2) real, and (3) in trade; III. Persons, (1) the family, (2) injuries, (3) laborers and labor. Within the smaller groups of laws, those defining the rights and obligations of the patrician classes precede those relating to the plebeians and slaves.

Origin and history

This entire collection of laws is properly called the *Code of Hammurabi*. Under his personal direction it undoubtedly assumed its present form, and by him it was publicly promulgated and made the law of the empire. He states distinctly that he received it from the god Shamash. The meaning of this statement, however, must be interpreted in the light of the code itself. Some of the laws, doubtless, were first formulated by Hammurabi; to this class may well belong those which attempt to fix a uniform price for hire and labor; but it is certain that the code as a whole rests on far older foundations. Many of its laws are assumed to be already in existence, and not a few of its legal phrases are found in contracts dating long before the time of Hammurabi. Like the Indian *Laws of Manu*, or the Greek *Gortyan Code*, or the Roman *Twelve Tables*, the code is evidently a compilation incorporating many very early laws and customs. So comprehensive and so well adapted to the needs of Babylonia was the wonderful Code of Hammurabi that for more than fifteen hundred years it continued to be the fundamental law of the Babylonian and Assyrian empires.

Its influence upon Israel's laws

How far did this highly developed Semitic code influence the laws of the Hebrews? The fact that it was in force through a large part of southwestern Asia for over a thousand years before the advent of the Hebrews, and that it bears striking analogy in theme, content, and form to many Old Testament laws, naturally prompts this query. The question is one that concerns not the reality but the method of divine revelation; for that revelation is as broad as human life and history. The vital consideration is whether the Infinite Judge made known the eternal principles of justice through the minds and life of the Babylonians as well as of the Hebrews? If so, the history of the origin and growth of Israelitish law begins in ancient Babylonia long before the days of Hammurabi; and the code of that truly noble ruler marks, like the Book of the Covenant (Ex. 21–23) and Deuteronomy, one of the great receptive epochs of divine revelation through human laws and institutions.

Early Babylonian influence in Canaan

The final answer to this important question must, of course, be based on a detailed and careful comparison of the codes as a whole, and of the individual laws; to approach the study a glance at some historical points of contact between Babylonian and Israelitish civilization must here suffice. It is probable that out of the same peculiar nomadic life of north Arabia came the ancestors of the Hebrews and those of the Babylonian line of rulers to which Hammurabi belonged. A common Arabian origin may go far to explain the many points of analogy between the two legal systems. In the oldest Babylonian inscriptions, far antedating the days of Hammurabi, the more ambitious rulers of the lower Tigris-Euphrates valley tell of conquests of theirs which extended to the eastern shore of the Mediterranean. Even during the periods when military prowess did not prepare the way, traders, bearing the civilization and thought and institutions of the East, carried on the peaceful but no less effectual conquest of Palestine. For three millenniums at least their conquests continued, until, as we know from contemporary chronology and the testimony of archæology, the pre-Hebraic civilization of Canaan reflected predominantly that of Babylonia.

Later contact between Babylon and Israel

There can be no doubt that the Babylonian culture influenced the Israelites through their own Semitic ancestors, and still more strongly through the Canaanites; but there are two periods in their history when that influence was overwhelming. The first period was when the Assyrians, the heirs and conquerors of Babylon, held Palestine for nearly two centuries in their iron grasp; the second, when the new Babylonian empire under Nebuchadrezzar conquered Judah and carried away to an exile under the shadow of the mistress of the East, the political, intellectual, and religious leaders of the Israelitish race.

Nature of the Babylonian influence

The intricate manner in which the history of these two peoples is constantly interwoven is one of the most remarkable and significant facts of antiquity. That the younger and weaker was deeply influenced by the older and stronger is patent; in the case of the specific laws, however, that influence, though marked, appears to have been indirect rather than direct. Gradually, probably unconsciously, assimilating that which they inherited

from the Semitic past, the early Israelites, wrought upon by the Divine, developed their own peculiar institutions and laws; for, striking as are the external analogies with the laws of other ancient people, especially in ceremonial regulation, the majority of the Old Testament laws are informed by a spirit and purpose which have no ancient parallel.

II

THE ORIGIN AND GROWTH OF ISRAELITISH LAW

Meaning of the Hebrew word for law

In derivation and variety of meanings there is a wealth of suggestion in the term *torah*, the Hebrew word for law. It comes from a verb which means *to point out, to direct*, and this in turn is probably to be traced back to an earlier root signifying *to cast* or *throw* the sacred lot or arrows employed in early times to determine the divine will. The verb is thus used in Joshua 18[6] to describe the casting of lots. Hence *torah* meant originally the decision obtained by the lot, and then it stood for the authoritative direction or decision that came from Jehovah and was made known to the people by his official representatives.

Different kinds of *torah*

Since Jehovah was represented in ancient Israel by several different classes of teachers, there were various kinds of *torahs*. One of the oldest and most significant was the *torah* or decision of a judge like Moses, which soon came to be recognized as a precedent to be followed when cases similar to that which called it forth arose (Ex. 18[15, 16, 20]). The *torah* was sometimes the designation also of social and moral teachings (Is. 5[24]), of political counsels (Is. 8[16, 20]), and of religious doctrines (Is. 1[10]) of prophets like Isaiah. In the prophetic books it frequently denotes the teachings of the prophets as a whole (*e. g.*, Jer. 6[19], 9[13], 16[11], 26[4]). And constantly the wise men or sages throughout their writing refer to their own characteristic teachings that were usually cast in the form of proverbs (*e. g.*, Pr. 1[8], 3[1], 4[2], Job 22[22]) as the *torah* or instruction. In Psalm 78[1] a psalmist uses the same broad term to describe the didactic poem that follows. In all these passages the common idea is that the *torah* consists of a body of definite and authoritative directions or teachings coming ultimately from Jehovah himself.

The *torah* of the priests

From statements like that in Jeremiah 18[18], however, it is clear that the *torah* was early regarded as the especial contribution of the priest. The enemies of Jeremiah justify their attack upon him by asserting that *the torah* (or *law*) *shall not perish from the priest, nor counsel from the wise, nor the word from the prophet* (cf. also Ezek. 7[26]). In its earliest and limited sense the *torah* was the specific decision or direction given by the priest, and ascertained by him, usually in response to some definite question, by means of the oracle or lot or other accepted method of ascertaining the will of the Deity. Thus according to Malachi 2[6], *the torah of truth was in the mouth of the priest . . . and the people should seek the torah at his mouth.* In Haggai 2[11] the people are commanded to ask a *torah* from the priests in regard to a certain ceremonial question. In the prophetic books charges are not infrequently brought against the priests because they have misused their authority as guardians of the *torah* (Mi. 3[11], Zeph. 3[4], Ezek. 22[26], Mal. 2[8, 9]). From

the earliest times the priests, since they were the guardians of the oracles and constituted an established religious class that could readily be found at the different local sanctuaries, were resorted to as arbiters and judges in cases civil as well as ceremonial. According to the later Deuteronomic codes the supreme court of appeal included both priests and laymen; and its decision on a specific question was still called the *torah* or direction (Dt. 17^{11}).

Later literary content of the term *Torah*

As in the case of the teachings of the prophets and sages, *torah* in like manner became in time the regular designation of a group of technical directions regarding some specific subject, as, for example, the *torah* of the burnt-offering, of the cereal-offering, or of the Nazirite (Lev. $6^{9, 14, 25}$, $7^{1, 11, 37}$, 11^{46}, 12^{7}, 13^{59}, Nu. $5^{29, 30}$). Primarily these rules appear to have been intended for the guidance of the laity rather than the priests. Soon, however, the *torah* or law was the name applied to a code of laws (as, for example, that found in Dt. 1^{5}, $4^{8, 44}$, $17^{18, 19}$, etc.), or appeared in the familiar phrase *the torah* or *law of Moses*, which described the collection of codes ascribed by later generations to the first great leader of the Hebrew race (Josh. $1^{7, 8}$, $8^{31, 32}$, I Kgs. 2^{3}, II Kgs. 10^{31}, $17^{13, 34}$, 21^{8}). In the later Old Testament books and in the New Testament, *The Torah* has become the prevailing designation of the combination of narrative, poetry, and law found in the first five books of the Hebrew Bible (I Chr. 16^{40}, II Chr. 31^{3}, Ezra 3^{2}, Neh. 8^{1}). The legal *torah* in its broad application, therefore, included all the directions—civil, judicial, moral, ceremonial, or religious—that came from the lips or pens of priests or priestly scribes.

Origin of the belief in the divine origin of law

As has been pointed out, when the early priest by the use of the oracle or sacred lot, or on his own authority as God's representative, rendered the decision, it was Jehovah's *torah*. When this and kindred decisions became the precedents by which later judges were guided in deciding similar cases, they felt that they were simply applying Jehovah's law. Priestly editors who recorded the customary laws that grew up on the basis of these precedents, or else expanded or modified the primitive customs in order to adapt them to new conditions, felt, as did Ezekiel (cf. Ezek. 40–48), that they were simply the agents of Jehovah.

To be sure, the concrete, naïve form in which they often expressed this fundamental belief cannot be interpreted with a blind literalness. The declaration that Jehovah talked face to face with Moses or wrote with his finger on tablets of stone reflects the primitive, anthropomorphic conceptions of God which are so prominent in the story of the Garden of Eden and the earliest patriarchal narratives. But this is only the early graphic manner of stating the eternal fact that God communicated his truths directly to his prophets and people, and inscribed a knowledge of his law, not with his finger on perishable stone but by means of individual and national experiences, upon the imperishable consciousness of the Israelitish race. The process of revelation was indeed more natural and sublimely accordant with God's methods of accomplishing his purpose than Israelitish tradition pictured it; and yet these concrete pictures impressed upon the minds of the early Hebrews the divine origin of the law much more clearly and vividly than a more exact and therefore more abstract statement of the fact would have done.

Progressive nature of divine revelation through the law

For the child now, as for the human race in its childhood, these concrete pictures have a practical value, for they emphasize the essential truth that the ancient laws embody the will and possess the authority of God himself. To some mature minds, however, that picture language obscures the almost equally important fact that the revelation of God's will through the Old Testament laws was progressive and adapted to the developing consciousness of the race. A *torah* was given only when demanded by human needs, and originally it gave in each case specific directions to anticipate those immediate needs. That the different laws and codes reflect the developing moral and religious consciousness of many different ages, the character of the laws and codes themselves is conclusive evidence. The testimony of Israelitish history also confirms the conclusion that the ethical standards and laws varied greatly from generation to generation. Acts like the torture of enemies (II Sam. $8^{2, 13}$) or the sacrifice of human beings to appease Jehovah (II Sam. 21^{1-6}), which were regarded as entirely legitimate by David and his contemporaries, were unsparingly condemned by an Amos ($1^{3, 13}$) or a Micah ($6^{7, 8}$). Jesus himself proclaimed the fundamental principle of religious evolution to be, *First the blade, then the ear, and then the full corn in the ear.* His statement, that he came to *fulfil the law*, that is, to bring it to full and perfect expression, is equivalent to affirming that it represented a progressive unfolding not yet complete. Repeatedly he declared, *Ye have heard that it was said to them of olden time, but I say to you*, and then proceeded to substitute for the ancient law a nobler command.

Origin of the traditional conception of the law

It was only very late Judaism that attributed all the Old Testament laws to one man and age. There was a twofold reason for this; it was partly due to a mistaken worship of the authority of the past, a worship which failed to realize that God's revelation was progressive, leading upward rather than downward; and it was due partly to the tendency of later rabbis to recognize as authoritative only those books which were associated with the name of some early prophet or hero of the faith, such as Samuel or David or Solomon or Isaiah. The Old Testament itself, as is well known, does not directly attribute to Moses the literary authorship of even a majority of its laws; the passages that place them in his mouth belong to the later editorial framework of the legal books.

Moses' real relation to the Old Testament legislation

The oldest records of Moses' work, and the history of the *torah*, suggest the great leader's real relation to Israelitish legislation as a whole and justify the title, *The Law of Moses*, so often applied to that legal lore. As a prophet and leader he called the Israelitish race into being; and he it was who inspired it with ideals, moral and religious, of which its later history and institutions were but the realization. There are good grounds for believing that the simple religious principles which he impressed upon his people were but the germinal ideas which, in the school of trying national experience, gradually unfolded into the *torahs* of the subsequent prophets and priests. His own age had no need of elaborate written codes. To his followers in the desert the detailed laws which grew up about the later monarchy and temple would have been meaningless. Exodus 18^{13-27} tells us that he gave the Israelites of his day what they needed; and the need was definite, detailed

directions and decisions on questions of doubt or dispute as these questions arose. From morning until evening the people crowded about him to inquire the will of God; and like a Bedouin sheik or a priestly judge of later Israelitish history, he investigated each case and rendered a decision. As he thus decided which of two litigants was in the right, he also *made known the statutes of God and his decisions*, and thereby laid the foundation of later Israelitish law. As customary law gradually grew up on this concrete foundation, tradition naturally attributed its origin to Moses. When later scribes codified and committed to writing the constantly expanding body of oral laws, they also preserved the traditions of Mosaic origin. Even though they modified or supplemented the older laws in order to adapt them to new conditions and to embody the higher principles set forth by later prophets, they felt neither desire nor justification for altering the traditional title. The tendency, rather, of exilic and post-exilic Judaism was so to magnify and give graphic expression to the ancient title that practically all of the Old Testament laws were made to come directly from the mouth of Moses.

The divine authority underlying Israel's law

In the same dramatic manner are set forth the two great truths that underlie the authority of Israel's laws. The first truth is: back of the laws lie the work and teachings of the great prophets of Israel who proclaimed the exalted principles which the laws embody. The second truth is: back of the prophets, and speaking through them and the conscience of the Israelitish race, was Israel's God. The various processes and stages whereby the different laws attained their final form may be traced in detail; but they are of minor importance compared with the supreme fact that Israel's laws contain God's directions, adapted at each point to the intelligence and needs of the race.

The uniqueness of Israel's laws

The fact that many of Israel's laws and institutions were inherited from an older Semitic past does not affect the divineness of their origin; to receptive souls, however limited their spiritual perspective, the infinite God has in all ages and to all races revealed truth as fast as they have been able to receive it. Hammurabi and most ancient lawgivers not only acknowledged but openly proclaimed their debt to the Divine. Israel received much from the past; but more than this, she developed unceasingly her own gift; her laws take on a wide human significance because they constantly incorporate the ampler principles enunciated by the nation's inspired prophets. It is this new element, reflecting as it does a nobler conception of God, of duty to him and to fellow-men, that makes the Old Testament laws unique.

Meaning of a *mishpat* or decision

We have referred to the part played by *torah*; there are still other Old Testament legal terms equally suggestive of the processes by which Israel's laws gradually grew. *Mishpat*, derived from the same root as the Hebrew word for judge, meant originally a *judgment* or a *decision* given in connection with a specific case. Like *torah*, however, it was soon used to designate the enactment or law which grew up on the basis of the original decision, and embodied its underlying principle. In this sense it is used in Exodus 21^{1} and 24^{3}, as a title to the body of specific laws found in 21^{1}–22^{27} (introduced in each case by *when* or *if*) which anticipate certain crimes and prescribe definite penalties. At first it appears to have included only civil laws, as in Exodus and Numbers 27^{11} and 35^{24}, but in time it was applied to ceremonial laws

as well (*e. g.*, Lev. $18^{4, 5, 26}$, 19^{37}). In the historical books it is sometimes used in the sense of *custom*, suggesting the intermediate stage between a verbal decision and a fixed law.

Other Hebrew synonyms for law

The other synonyms for law are comparatively late. *Commandment* is a characteristic term in the Deuteronomic legislation. It emphasizes the divine authority back of the given law (*e. g.*, Dt. $4^{2, 40}$, $5^{29, 31}$). *Testimonies* (*êdwôth*, *êdôth*) is another Deuteronomic term (Dt. 4^{45}, $6^{17, 20}$), especially applied to moral and religious enactments solemnly proclaimed and attested by Jehovah. *Precepts* (*pekkudîm*) is found only in the Psalms (note especially Ps. 119). *Statute*, from a root meaning to *inscribe* or *engrave*, suggests a period when writing on stone was well known. This term recalls the divine command to Isaiah (Is. 8^{1}) to write the essence of his prophecy on a tablet and set it up before the eyes of the people. The practice of inscribing the more important laws on tablets and putting them up before the people was common in antiquity, as witness the Code of Hammurabi, the Gortyan Laws of Crete, and the Twelve Tables of the Romans. The word *statutes* also occurs frequently in the Deuteronomic and priestly codes and suggests that the custom was not unknown among the Hebrews (cf. Dt. 27^{2-4}). In general it emphasizes the importance and established authority of the laws thus designated.

Authorities that rendered the original decisions which shaped later laws

In the light of these studies, and of analogies among other kindred peoples, it is thus possible to trace definitely the processes by which Israel's individual laws came into being. The original decisions that constituted the precedents upon which oral and customary law grew up, were rendered, (1) by regularly appointed judges, usually leaders of the nation like Moses or heads of families (*e. g.*, Ex. 18^{13-26}, Dt. 1^{9-18}); (2) by military chieftains or kings like David. In I Samuel $30^{24, 25}$, for instance, there is a most instructive example showing that the law regarding the distribution of booty, which Numbers 31^{27} attributes to Moses, first arose as the result of a decision given by David after an expedition against the Amalekites. In addition to the authorities instanced under (1) and (2), we have to add (3) that the great majority of the Old Testament laws doubtless grew out of the decisions of the priests (Mal. $2^{6, 7}$), or (4) later, out of the renderings of the supreme court of appeal at Jerusalem (Dt. 17^{8-12}).

Editorial work of the priests

There is no evidence, however, that a special legal commission or legislative body was ever intrusted with the task of formulating laws or of collecting or codifying existing customs. This was contrary to the theory of ancient Israelitish law, the origin of which was early traced back directly through Moses, or the *torahs* of the priests, to Jehovah himself. To the priests, as proclaimers, interpreters, and guardians of the *torah*, fell the responsibility of collecting and codifying and also of developing the law. This is distinctly implied in Zephaniah 3^{4} and Ezekiel 22^{26}, where they are charged with having done violence to the *torah*. Thus the theory and practice underlying Israelitish law explain how it was possible readily to absorb foreign elements and at the same time to develop in accord with the higher moral standards and needs of each age.

In the history of Israel's legal system five distinct periods may be dis-

tinguished. The first is the nomadic, the period which preceded the settlement in Canaan. At this stage the customary Semitic law of the desert, supplemented by the specific rulings of their leaders and priests, sufficed for the people's simple needs. The second may be designated as the early agricultural or Canaanite period. It began with the settlement in Canaan and extended down to the revolution of Jehu in 842 B.C. It was then that the nomadic Hebrews gradually absorbed the Canaanites by conquest and intermarriage and adopted largely their civilization, laws, institutions, sanctuaries, and, as the prophets frequently complain, not a few of their religious ideas and customs. The third may be denominated the prophetic period; that during which the great heralds of ethical and social righteousness impressed their new and revolutionary principles upon the conscience of the race. This period, extending from 842 to 586 B.C., was one of intense political and religious activity. It was in the interval between these two dates that the great moral and humane laws probably took form. The fourth period embraces the exilic and post-exilic times; it extends from 586 to about 300 B.C. The nation rested under the shadow of the exile, and its religious leaders under the spell of the Babylonian and Persian religions. With the hierarchy in the ascendancy, the whole tendency of the age was toward ceremonialism. The end of this period marks the probable date at which the canon of the law was closed. The fifth period is that of the oral law, and extends on beyond New Testament times. In theory the legal canon was forever closed, but in practice the expansion of the law still went on in the schools of the scribes. Until after the fall of Jerusalem (70 A.D.), however, the results of these scribal labors were preserved simply in the form of oral tradition.

The five great epochs in the development of Israel's laws

Until the exile wrought a radical transformation in their habits, the Israelites were not, as were the ancient Babylonians and Egyptians, a literary people. Abhorring commerce as they did, their life was comparatively simple; their own individual and national problems commanded most of their attention. Oral communication being easy, it was not until real needs arose that laws were likely to be committed to writing, or, at least, to gain wide currency in written form. Even the *Book of the Covenant*, though solemnly accepted as law in the days of Josiah, was simply read to the people (II Kgs. 23^2). There is no evidence that more than one copy of it was made at the outset. In the numerous introductions to the laws in the Pentateuch, introductions written comparatively late, the references are chiefly to the oral reception and presentation of those laws. Only in connection with the early decalogues is it distinctly stated that they were written down (*e. g.*, Ex. 24^4, 31^{18}, 32^{16}, $34^{27, 28}$, Dt. 9^{10}); and then the aim of the statement is to emphasize their divine origin. During the nomadic period there was no need for written laws.

The long period of oral transmission

The ultimate conquest of the Canaanites and the absorption of their civilization, gave the Hebrews their system of writing; in all probability, also, it introduced them directly or indirectly to the legal codes inherited from Babylonia. It is possible that certain rules for the guidance of judges were placed on record as early as the days of David. The reference in Hosea 8^{12} may seem to imply the existence in Northern Israel of written *torahs* or direc-

The earliest traces of written laws

tions; but the context indicates that they were simply the moral teachings of the prophets, applied, possibly, in the form of laws to the life of the people. For the nation as a whole, oral law and custom undoubtedly sufficed far into the prophetic period, even until the reformation of Josiah, an event which we know was based on a definite written code. And the account we have of that reform movement makes it clear that the *Book of the Covenant* had its genesis in the desire to correct prevailing usages and to regulate the life of the nation in accordance with the new doctrines of the prophets.

Influences of the exile that made the Israelites a literary race

The influences most potent in promoting the growth and study and use of the written law date from the beginning of the Babylonian exile. It was then that writing became the principal means of communication between the scattered remnants of the Israelitish race. The example of the Babylonians and Egyptians, among whom the leaders of Israel found themselves, could hardly fail to influence them. With the future of their race and religion depending largely upon the preservation of the rich heritage from the past, with the temple and sacred city in ruins and the ceremonial institutions in abeyance, the demand became imperative for written records of the customs and rules hitherto transmitted from priest to priest by usage and oral teachings. Torn from the temple and without occupation, the priests had, like Ezekiel, both leisure and incentive to become scribes and cast their inherited customs and laws into permanent form—a literary form which at once conserved Israel's heritage and adapted it to the changed conditions and beliefs that the exile brought in its train. Hence during the period beginning a little before 621 and ending about 300 B.C. with the closing of the canon of the law, the great majority of the Old Testament laws were, it is safe to say, not only first committed to writing, but also edited, codified, and given their final form.

Testimony of the laws themselves to their gradual growth

The character and present literary structure of the Old Testament laws confirm, at every point, the plain implications of Israelitish history and contemporaneous reference. Among the many indications of their gradual unfolding into successive codes is the fact that the same law is often repeated twice and, in some cases, four or five times; a fact obviously inconsistent with the late Jewish theory of their derivation from the one age and lawgiver. Then again, laws dealing with the same subjects as, for example, those defining the rights of slaves, inheritance, and temple dues, are found to stand in a progressive relation to each other; for in Deuteronomy these laws are given with much detail and often fundamentally modify the similar enactments in Exodus 21–23; and in Leviticus the corresponding laws introduce various other elements not logically consistent with the preceding, if all are assigned to the same age. Furthermore, certain laws supplant each other; as, for example, that in Deuteronomy 12, decreeing that all sacrifice must be offered in Jerusalem, is in obvious contradiction to the law of Exodus $20^{24, 26}$; since this law in Exodus provides for the rearing of a sacrificial altar at any suitable place and is in perfect keeping with the prevailing usage until the days of Josiah (cf. *e. g.*, I Sam. $9^{12, 22\text{-}25}$, I Kgs. $18^{30\text{-}37}$).

There is further evidence, of the most convincing character, that the various

groups of laws come from different ages and schools of writers; it is to be seen in the radical difference of vocabulary and literary style existing between the various groups. When it is also noted that these several groups have the characteristics of the early prophetic, the late prophetic or Deuteronomic, and the priestly narratives of the Pentateuch, respectively, the criteria are at hand by means of which the individual laws may be distinguished from each other and their approximate dates determined. Guided by these unmistakable evidences and aided by the tireless labors of the scholars of the two centuries past, the student of to-day is able to rearrange the Old Testament laws in their approximate chronological order, and, on the basis of this order, trace the unfolding of Israel's legal and ceremonial institutions from the age of Moses to the days of Nehemiah (for a graphic representation of the growth and approximate dates of the codes cf. Frontispiece).

Evidence that they come from different schools of writers

III

THE PRIMITIVE HEBREW CODES

The original early Judean decalogue

SINCE the priests did not write their history until after the exile (cf. Introd. of Vol. I, p. 47), the place to look for the primitive records of Hebrew law is in the early Judean prophetic narratives, committed to writing about 800 B.C. (cf. Introd., Vol. I, pp. 31–37). In Exodus 34, the major portion of which is now generally assigned to these narratives (cf. Vol. I, note § 76), is found what appears to be the oldest recorded group of Hebrew laws. Like all ancient enactments they have been supplemented by many later hortatory and explanatory additions, which indicate incidentally the great importance attributed to the oldest laws by later generations. When these additions are removed the original laws are found to consist of ten brief words or commandments; thus the designation in Exodus 34^{28c}, *And Moses wrote upon the tablets the words of the covenant, the ten commandments.* According to the early Judean prophetic tradition associated with them, they are the original ten commandments written by Moses at Jehovah's dictation on two tablets of stone (Ex. $34^{1a, 4, 27, 28}$). In the oldest Hebrew narratives, therefore, they are given the central position in the entire Old Testament legal system. This position is also supported by the fact that each of the regulations of that primitive decalogue is repeated in the same or expanded form elsewhere in other groups of laws. That most of the regulations are reproduced four or five times in successive codes, indicates how great was the authority and importance attributed to them by late lawgivers.

Its probable date

The further evidence of their being the primitive corner-stone of Israelitish legislation is confirmed by their character. They define religion in the terms of the ritual; they come, therefore, from a period long antedating Amos and Isaiah, both of whom defined religion in terms of life and love and service. In common with the utterances of all early religions these primitive commands emphasize simply the cultus. They do not necessarily condemn all representation of the Deity by images. Even the injunction, *Thou shalt make no molten images*, leaves a place for the family teraphim, the pillars, and the sacred symbols that figure in the stories of the patriarchs. This command simply prohibits the molten images made, probably, by foreign workmen and in imitation of heathen models; and possibly the second command in its present form (Ex. 34^{17}) is a Judean protest against the calves overlaid with gold, such as were set up by Jeroboam I at Dan and Bethel. The first command emphasizes the principle publicly enforced by Elijah, namely, that Jehovah alone shall be acknowledged as God by the Israelites. The remaining laws enjoin the faithful observance of the three great annual feasts, and the sabbath, and the offering of the customary sacrifices according to the demands of the

early ritual. At least three of the commands assume that the Hebrews are agriculturists, and therefore already settled in Canaan. Others, as for example the command not to seethe a kid in its mother's milk, are clearly inherited from the nomadic period, and may well go back to the days of Moses. As a whole, however, these ten words in their present form cannot be definitely dated earlier than the days of the united kingdom.

Evidence that it was found originally immediately after Exodus 19

This decalogue appears to have had a place from the first in the early Judean narratives. Important evidence has already been presented (Vol. I, notes §§ 75, 76) to the effect that the familiar prophetic decalogue of Exodus 20^{1-17} was substituted by a late prophetic editor for the older decalogue of Exodus 34. The importance of the former amply justified the transfer, although it assigned to the beginning of Israel's history certain principles (as, for example, the rejection of all images) which were only gradually revealed to the more mature consciousness of the race. This substitution, however, was in perfect keeping with the tendency that finds illustration in every department of Old Testament literature. In the light of the higher teachings and ideals of the prophets, the primitive definition of the obligations of the people to Jehovah had been supplanted by one much nobler. Exodus 19^{25} states that Moses had gone down from the mount of revelation, although its present sequel (Ex. 20^{1-17}) implies that he was still on the mountain in the presence of God. The natural and immediate continuation of the early Judean prophetic narrative of 19^{20-25} is found not in 20 but in 34; for the latter opens with the command to Moses to go up again on the mountain with tablets to receive the words of the covenant (cf. for the restored order, Vol. I, §§ 183, 184). The reference to the second tablets of stone in $^{1b, 4b}$ are evidently from the editor who substituted the prophetic decalogue of Exodus 20^{1-17}. Fortunately he preserved the older version by resorting to the harmonistic method often employed by the editors of the Pentateuch when confronted by two conflicting parallel versions, and assigned it to a later setting. The Ephraimite or Northern Israelitish account of the sin of the people and of the destruction of the two tablets (32^{15-19}) suggested a method of reconciling the presence of two distinct decalogues. Accordingly the editor introduced the older immediately after this account. The great inconsistency of his theory, however, is left unreconciled; for he offers no hint or explanation why one decalogue was inscribed on the first tablets and a totally different one on the duplicate tablets, notwithstanding the fact that the context clearly implies identical contents in both cases.

Original position of the laws now found in Exodus 20^{23}–23^{19}

Deuteronomy confirms ($5^{22, 31}$, 6^{1}) the testimony of the earliest source, that only ten words or commands were publicly given to Moses at the mount of revelation. This evidence is important, for it clearly implies that when the original book of Deuteronomy was written the additional laws now associated with Sinai must have stood in a different connection. The suggestion of the learned Dutch scholar, Kuenen, is at least plausible. It is that the editor who assigned the Deuteronomic code to its present position in Israel's history, just before the crossing of the Jordan, did so because this was already the setting of the main collection of primitive laws. The only considerable body of early Hebrew laws of which there is any record is that now found in

Exodus 20^{23}–23^{19}. A position at the close of Moses' career and just before the people passed over the Jordan to enter upon that agricultural life of Canaan, which these laws contemplate, was most appropriate. But in following this ancient precedent for the assignment of the body of the laws of Deuteronomy to this setting, it was impossible for the editor to leave the older enactments there, for the Deuteronomic legislation modifies and in some cases absolutely annuls certain of their commands. Nothing remained, therefore, but to transfer them to the earlier setting and to join them, as now found, with the ten words. This, be it noted, was in perfect harmony with the tendency, traceable from the exile, to associate more and more of Israel's laws with the initial revelation at Sinai. It was, moreover, exactly parallel with the corresponding tendency to attribute all to Moses.

Original unity and independence of the *Judgments* in Exodus 21–22^{20}

The theory that the code in Exodus 20^{23}–23^{19} was transferred from a later setting to its present position by a late prophetic editor, certainly has the advantage of explaining, in a simple and reasonable manner, a great number of most puzzling facts. It may be questioned, however, whether the whole of this composite group of laws or only the major collection of case laws found in 21^{1}–22^{10} was thus transferred. The unity of this group is clearly marked. They all deal with civil and criminal questions. They all employ practically the same formula and are expressed in the third person rather than the second person singular. They are also introduced by the independent superscription: *Now these are the Judgments that thou shalt set before them* (21^{1}). If these *Judgments* were not originally found among Moses' farewell words, they may appropriately have followed the account in Exodus $18^{13\text{-}26}$ of his work as judge, but this hypothesis suggests no sufficient cause for their transfer. Hence, Kuenen's conjecture is still the most probable. Their remarkable unity in form and content, and the presence also of a distinct superscription, leaves little doubt that they once constituted an independent group by themselves, and that they did not originally stand in the midst of the collection of ceremonial and humane laws which they divide into two unequal parts.

Date and origin of the remaining ceremonial and humane laws

The first question to be answered, therefore, is, What were the origin and primary position of the small groups of ceremonial and humane laws which remain ($20^{23\text{-}26}$, 22^{18}–23^{19}) after the *Judgments* have been removed? Some later explanatory and hortatory glosses can be readily recognized (*e. g.*, 22^{21b}, ^{24}, $23^{9b,\ 13,\ 15b}$); but the majority evidently came from an early period in Israel's history. The permission to build altars and offer sacrifices at many different places (Ex. $20^{24\text{-}25}$) suggests either greater antiquity than even Exodus 34^{26}, or else the less restricted usage of Northern Israel. Furthermore, this permission is one of the primitive regulations abrogated by Deuteronomy 12. There is nothing in these groups of laws distinctly pointing to a date later than that of the united Hebrew kingdom. Their vocabulary connects them with the early Ephraimite rather than the Judean narratives. The early prominence of the prophets, the broader and more complex life of the northern kingdom, lead us to expect that there, rather than in little Judah, legal institutions first expanded and found record in detailed written laws.

Their real character

The ceremonial enactments are but the repetition or expansion of the laws in Exodus 34; laws which are the prototypes of the later and more detailed priestly laws of Leviticus. The humane commands reflect the spirit of the early Ephraimite narratives and embody certain fundamental ethical principles, like those of kindness to the poor and justice toward dependents, which are constantly assumed by Amos and Hosea in their addresses to the Northern Israelites as universally accepted. They represent the early Hebrew formulation of the noble humanitarian ideals that had already been partly incorporated in Hammurabi's code and that were destined later in Israelitish and Christian law to find their fullest and most exalted expression.

The variant version of the Judean decalogue

It is a most significant fact that within this rather heterogeneous collection there are found in three groups, which stand by themselves (20^{23}, 22^{29-31}, and 23^{12-19}), practically all of the ten words of the primitive Judean decalogue in Exodus 34. The many and striking variations in order and form furnish conclusive proof that the two decalogues represent distinct versions and not mere scribal transcription from one original. Of course, the exact form and content of the ten words or commands alluded to in Exodus 34^{28b}, and found in the preceding verses of the same chapter, cannot be absolutely determined, since they have been expanded and supplemented by later explanatory notes. Likewise, the initial commands in Exodus 20^{23} have evidently been changed by a later editor; for, under the influence of the obviously later introductory phrase (^{22b}), the prevailing form of address in the second person singular (*thou*) has been changed to the second person plural (*ye*). The frequency of this particular change is illustrated by a comparison of the variations of identical passages in the Greek and Hebrew versions—even where there is no apparent cause (*e. g.*, Ex. $22^{18, 20, 23}$). Conversely, in Exodus 21^{2} the regular formula of the judgments has been changed from the third to the second person singular, because this form is found in the immediately preceding passage. The following table will facilitate the comparison of the two versions of the primitive decalogue; in it the order of the Judean has been followed and the fuller form given. The original *thou* of Exodus 20^{23} has also been restored. The first command has evidently suffered in transmission, for in its present form it reads, *Ye shall not make with me*, and the Greek version represents a futile attempt to correct it. It is exceedingly probable that this command was originally identical with the Judean version.

Early Judean Prophetic Version	*Early Ephraimite Parallel*
I. **Exodus 34** ^{14}Thou shalt worship no other God, for Jehovah, whose name is Jealous, is a jealous God.	**Exodus 20** ^{23a}Thou shalt make no [other gods] with me (?).
II. ^{17}Thou shalt make thee no molten gods.	**20** ^{23b}Thou shalt make thee no gods of silver or gold.
III. ^{18a}The feast of unleavened bread shalt thou observe: seven days shalt thou eat unleavened bread.	**23** ^{15a}The feast of unleavened bread shalt thou observe: seven days shalt thou eat unleavened bread.

The two variant versions of the primitive decalogue

Early Judean Prophetic Version	*Early Ephraimite Parallel*
IV. [19, 20a, b]Every first-born is mine: even all the male cattle, the first-born of ox and sheep. And the first-born of an ass shalt thou redeem with a lamb; and if thou wilt not redeem it, then thou shalt break its neck. All the first-born of thy sons shalt thou redeem.	**22** [29b, 30]The first-born of thy sons shalt thou give to me. Likewise shalt thou do with thy ox and thy sheep; seven days shall it remain with its mother; on the eighth day thou shalt give it to me.
V. [21]Six days shalt thou toil, but on the seventh thou shalt rest; in plowing time and harvest thou shalt rest.	**23** [12]Six days thou shalt do thy work, but on the seventh thou shalt rest, that thine ox and thine ass may have rest and that the son of thy handmaid and the resident alien may be refreshed.
VI. [22]Thou shalt observe the feast of weeks, even of the first-fruits of wheat harvest, and of the ingathering at the end of the year.	[16][Thou shalt observe] the feast of harvest, the first-fruits of thy labors, which thou sowest in the field, and the feast of ingathering at the end of the year, when thou gatherest in thy labors from the field.
VII. [25a]Thou shalt not offer the blood of my sacrifice with leaven.	**23** [18a]Thou shalt not offer the blood of my sacrifice with leaven.
VIII. [25b]The fat of the feast of the passover shall not be left all night until the morning.	[18b]The fat of my feast shall not be left all night until the morning.
IX. [26a]The best of the first-fruits of thy land shalt thou bring to the house of Jehovah thy God.	**22** [29a]Thou shalt not delay to bring offerings from the abundance of thy harvests and the outflow of thy presses.
X. [26b]Thou shalt not seethe a kid in its mother's milk.	**23** [19b]Thou shalt not seethe a kid in its mother's milk.

Significant points of agreement and variation

It is possible that the command in Exodus 34[20c], *none shall appear before me empty*, is original. It departs, however, from the prevailing formula; in Exodus 23[15c] it breaks the connection and is probably a scribal insertion from 34. Its content also strongly suggests that it is a later addition; but, if not such an addition, the eighth command could reasonably be counted as one. Even if this change be adopted, the close correspondence between the two versions is not affected. In four cases (III, VII, VIII, X) this correspondence is absolutely identical; in purport it is complete throughout the ten words. Both the variations and the remarkable points of agreement can be explained only on the hypothesis that they go back to a common original.

It is sometimes claimed that the Ephraimite prophetic narratives had no

decalogue; yet such statements as those in Exodus $24^{3, 12a}$, 31^{18b}, 32^{16} (which belong to the northern history), plainly declare that it, like the early Judean prophetic narratives, at first contained only the laws of the decalogue inscribed on two tablets. Exodus $20^{21, 22a}$ is probably the original Ephraimite introduction to the ten words or brief commands that once immediately followed it, an introduction giving the account of the covenant at Horeb as that account originally stood in the Ephraimite narrative before the additional religious and humane laws were combined with it. Evidence that the Ephraimite narratives contained a decalogue

While it is impossible to determine with absolute certainty the exact form of the original ten words or commands underlying the two early prophetic decalogues, the probabilities all go to show that they antedate the division of the two kingdoms in 937 B.C. In the light of all the evidence obtainable there is good ground for concluding that this original decalogue was promulgated at least as early as the days of the united monarchy. The character of its commands, and their prominence in all later codes, strongly support this comparatively early date. Date of the original decalogue

On the basis of the two variant versions it may be conjecturally restored as follows: Its conjectural restoration

I. Thou shalt worship no other God.

II. Thou shalt make thee no molten gods.

III. The feast of unleavened bread shalt thou observe.

IV. Every first-born is mine.

V. Six days shalt thou toil, but on the seventh thou shalt rest.

VI. Thou shalt observe the feast of weeks and ingathering at the end of the year.

VII. Thou shalt not offer the blood of my sacrifice with leaven.

VIII. The fat of my feast shall not be left until morning.

IX. The best of the first-fruits of thy land shalt thou bring to the house of Jehovah.

X. Thou shalt not seethe a kid in its mother's milk.

Two significant facts should here be noted: first, the persistence of the tradition that this simple primitive decalogue was early inscribed on two tablets of stone; second, the emphasis that is laid upon it in all the different groups of narratives, except the late priestly, which substitutes for it the large body of legislation found in Exodus 26–31, 35–40, and Leviticus. The different prophetic versions only reveal variations that are inevitable when a very early tradition is transmitted through different channels. The early Judean prophetic narratives represent the words as having been written on the tablets by Moses (Ex. $34^{27, 28}$). The early Ephraimite narratives state that the words were inscribed on the two tablets by the finger of God (Ex. 24^{12}, 31^{18b}). The Deuteronomic narrative as usual follows the Ephraimite tradition (Dt. 5^{22}, $9^{9, 10}$). A later Deuteronomic editor, possibly the one who transferred the early Judean decalogue to its present position in Exodus 34, reproduces the contents of that chapter; but at one point he abandons it in favor of the later tradition representing Jehovah himself as writing the words (Dt. 10^{4}). He also adds (possibly following a lost Judean original, or the temple records quoted in I Kgs. 8^{9}) that at Jehovah's command Moses, before going up on Persistence of the tradition of the two tablets

the mount to receive the tablets of the law, prepared an ark of acacia wood, and that when he returned he put them in the ark that he had made (Dt. $10^{2, 3, 5}$).

Elements common to all the earliest narratives

In the light of these facts it seems clear that the original tradition, namely, that the earliest decalogue was written on two tablets of stone, also goes back at least to the early days of the united monarchy, a time when both the North and the South shared it in common. Furthermore, a tradition so persistent must have had an historical basis. The variations can easily be traced to the different narratives in which they appear; but the permanent elements, shared by all versions, are: (1) that the ten words were presented to the people by Moses as Jehovah's prophet; (2) that they were promulgated at the mount of revelation; (3) that they contained the terms of the solemn covenant which bound Israel as a nation to Jehovah; and (4) that they were inscribed on two tablets of stone.

Evidence of an original Mosaic oral decalogue

Of the elements just named the first is exceedingly important, for it represents the genesis of that tendency, which later became so prominent, to attribute the giving of the law to Moses. The second reflects the beginning of that parallel tendency to trace the origin of legal institutions to the beginning of Israel's history, which ultimately led the later editors of the law to associate the great body of the Old Testament legislation with Mount Sinai. As has already been noted, the contents of these commands support the conclusion that at least the majority of them may well come from the time of Moses. In early Hebrew thought Sinai-Horeb long continued to be regarded as the place where Jehovah dwelt and where he could be consulted. The account of Elijah's flight to Horeb is a familiar illustration of this belief (I Kgs. 19^{8-14}). Back of the decalogue in its present versions, anticipating as they do settled agricultural conditions in Canaan, there was probably a more primitive oral decalogue, which came, as the tradition asserts, directly from Moses and the mount of God.

Evidence that there was an early decalogue inscribed on two tablets

The third element, the belief that the ten words embodied the terms of the original covenant which bound Israel as a nation to Jehovah, indicates that when the early variant traditions first took form these ten words or commands were regarded as possessing an absolute and unique authority. It is not too much to say that they represent the first stage in that process of canonization which ultimately gave us the Old Testament. Out of a larger body of traditional laws and institutions these ten commands stood forth invested with overshadowing authority. By following their injunctions the continued protection and favor of Israel's national God was assured. What gave these ten words their commanding position? The fourth permanent element in the tradition suggests the simplest answer. It was because they were actually inscribed on two tablets of stone, and in characters which in time became archaic. It is impossible satisfactorily to explain this early and constantly recurring *motif* in the tradition on any other basis.

Excellent Semitic parallels are found in the Code of Hammurabi and the Marseilles tablet. The second example, although comparatively late, is especially to the point because it reflects a Phœnician, and, therefore, a Canaanite custom. The tablet was set up in a temple and was intended to guide

the people in the discharge of their religious duty in connection with the ritual (cf. Appendix VIII). The command in Exodus 34^{26a} to bring the best of the first-fruits of the land *to the house of Jehovah thy God* would also seem to indicate that the oldest decalogue was closely connected with a specific sanctuary; a sanctuary which, in the Judean narrative where it is found, could have been none other than Solomon's temple. The testimony of the extract from the temple records found in I Kings 8^{9} also connects the original ten words with the ark and Solomon's temple. Tradition, resting probably on an ultimate basis of fact, assigns their origin to Moses and the mount of revelation; but the varied historical data, as well as the needs of the situation and the spirit of the age, suggest that the primitive ten words were not put in written form until the reign of Solomon and in connection with the royal sanctuary reared by him. The decalogue form indicates that they were at first simply inscribed on the popular memory.

Date and historical setting of the first written decalogue

A careful study of Exodus 20^{23}–23^{19} demonstrates, after two or three obvious scribal errors have been corrected (*e. g.*, 20^{23}, 21^{2} and 22^{18}, where the Hebrew should be translated, *a sorceress shall not live*), that the religious and humane laws are practically always cast in the form of a direct address in the second person singular (*thou*), and that the civil and criminal laws, where a definite penalty is imposed, are always, as in the corresponding Code of Hammurabi, cast in the form of case law and employ the third person, never the second person singular (*If a man do so and so, such shall be the penalty*). The same distinction reappears in the older laws preserved in Deuteronomy, although that code, assuming as a whole the prophetic point of view, uses *thou* prevailingly. The care with which this distinction is maintained is illustrated by Exodus 21^{14}, *And if a man attack another maliciously, to slay him by treachery; thou shalt take him from mine altar, that he may be put to death.* The mention of the altar introduces the religious *motif* with the result that the corresponding *thou* is employed.

Distinct forms of the civil and ceremonial laws

The fundamental reason is probably because the appeal in the one case is directly to the individual conscience, and a penalty is rarely imposed; while in the other, the fear of punishment is the *motif*, and the specific laws are intended for the guidance of judges as well as the people. The civil and criminal laws also go back to earlier decisions and precedents as the ultimate basis of their authority, and aim simply to formulate and fix customs already largely in force. Here too, the indirect influence of Hammurabi's epoch-making code may perhaps be recognized in determining the form of the early Hebrew civil laws. It is in this connection significant that the superscription to the oldest Hebrew group (21^{1}–22^{20}) is but a variant of the title *Judgments of Righteousness* which Hammurabi gave to his collection of case laws. On the other hand, the direct address (*thou*) is alone employed in the religious and humane laws, probably because each command in the earliest decalogue was first given by a priest or prophet as divine *torah*, and in response to a specific question presented by an individual; or else, as the traditions imply, because the first group of commands was addressed by Moses, speaking in the name of Jehovah, directly to the nation collectively.

Origin of these distinct forms

The distinct form and classification of the civil and the religious laws in

Origin and classification of the case laws or judgments

the earliest collection indicate that, as among the Babylonians, these two great departments of Israel's laws originally grew up independently. Side by side with the ceremonial decalogues, which were in time supplemented and expanded, the judgments or case laws were taking form. The early Ephraimite prophetic tradition in Exodus 18^{12-26} associates their beginning with Moses. The *Judgments* in Exodus 21^{1}–22^{20} are the earliest written evidences of the growth of criminal and civil laws. By their use of the word *Elohim* instead of Jehovah ($21^{6,\ 13}$, $22^{8,\ 11}$), and by other linguistic marks, the *Judgments* reveal their relationship with the Ephraimite group of narratives. With this strand they are also connected in their present setting.

Evidences of their date and history

Their setting, however, gives little aid in determining their date, for, as has been noted, they have been placed in their present position by some later editor of the book of Exodus. The laws themselves furnish the only real answer to the question of their date. Many of them may come from Moses, others assume the settled agricultural conditions to which the Hebrews did not attain until after they entered Canaan (*e. g.*, $22^{5,\ 6}$). But Hebrew society is still primitive; there are no central courts of appeal; a decision can be secured at any one of the shrines or sanctuaries which the Israelites inherited from the Canaanites (Ex. $22^{8,\ 9}$); wealth consists of produce and cattle; the *lex talionis* is still prominent, though the more civilized principle of compensation is being introduced. There is, indeed, no reason for doubting that the majority, if not all, of these laws were in force in Israel as early as the days of David and Solomon. Their early date is also confirmed by the central place that is assigned to them in all later civil legislation. These facts, however, do not necessarily imply that they were committed to writing at this early time. If Kuenen's conjecture be correct, they were introduced into the Ephraimite narratives (about 750 B.C.) in connection with Moses' farewell. Their remarkable unity (cf. p. 18) also suggests that they were possibly once current as an independent law book. This conclusion would explain, further, why they have retained their unity, though introduced into the midst of distinctly different laws. Possibly they were not associated with the Pentateuch until assigned to their present position by a late editor. The indications, both of form and content, strongly indicate they must have been formulated long before 750 B.C.

Comparison of the Hebrew code with that of Hammurabi

The remarkable correspondence between many of these individual laws and those of Hammurabi, favors the conclusion that the principles underlying them, if not the detailed contents and form, were in part derived from the older code through the Canaanites. They deal with similar questions and assume very much the same social conditions. Out of the forty-five or fifty judgments at least thirty-five have points of contact with the laws of Hammurabi, and fully half are in part parallel. The variations are in most cases traceable to the different spirit and circumstances of the two peoples from whom they come. Thus, for example, there are great differences in the penalties imposed. As a rule the older code, which comes from a populous commercial nation, is much more severe in punishing any infringement of the rights of property; while the Hebrew laws, coming from a people whose

numbers were comparatively small, are more strenuous in protecting human life. The penalty for stealing an ox in the Hebrew code is five oxen (Ex. 22^{1}), but in Hammurabi's code thirty, or if the owner was a poor man, tenfold its value (§ 8). In general the same just and humane spirit is reflected in both systems, and the variations are those of degree rather than kind. The old law of *an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth*, however, still figures prominently in both. In the older code slaves for debt were to be set free at the end of three years instead of six (Ex. 21^{2}); under the Babylonian laws daughters had the right of inheritance, a right which was not granted to them in Israel until a much later period; the rights of widows also are more carefully guarded in the older code. On the whole, the Babylonian laws appear to reflect a much more highly developed stage of civilization; and this conclusion also favors the early dating of the Hebrew code.

Significance of the points of agreement and variation

The points of close agreement are many. Especially is this true of the laws of deposit (cf. Ex. 22^{7-12} and Hammurabi's code §§ 9–11, 120, 124–26), the punishment of kidnapping (cf. Ex. 21^{16} and H. C. § 14), of injury to a pregnant woman (cf. Ex. 21^{22-25} and H. C. §§ 209–14), of sorcery (cf. Ex. 22^{18} and H. C. §§ 1, 2), and the responsibility of shepherds (cf. Ex. 22^{10-13} and H. C. § 266). That the later Hebrew code owes much to the older system seems probable, for the atmosphere in which the former developed was surcharged with Babylonian legal ideas; yet the points of variation are so many and so significant that the originality and individuality of the Old Testament code do not need demonstration.

Comparative completeness of the Hebrew code

Both codes seek only to guard against crimes and to anticipate the more common cases of dispute, and thus to establish principles and precedents to guide judges in deciding similar questions. Where a customary usage is fixed, it is often assumed and not restated. Much was necessarily left to the discretion of judges. A study of the Hebrew code in the light of the needs of early Hebrew society, leads to the conclusion that it is not a fragment of a large code, but that the early code, with the probable exception of five laws, is preserved in its original and complete form.

The few later additions to it

Furthermore, the civil code, unlike the corresponding ceremonial and humane laws in Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy, has received only a few later supplemental additions. These can readily be recognized. The penalty to be visited upon a son who reviles his father (21^{17}) was probably added by a scribe who was reminded of this law in Leviticus 20^{9} by the very similar enactment in ^{15}. This, first written in the margin, has later been awkwardly introduced into the text in the midst of a group of laws dealing simply with assault. Similarly, Exodus 21^{26} contemplates the same crime and is clearly the immediate sequel of $^{20,\ 21}$. The primitive laws in $^{22-25}$, which introduce a new subject, may well have been added by an early editor familiar with the corresponding Babylonian and Assyrian usage. The Greek translators recognized the difficulty, but failed to eliminate it. Exodus $22^{2,\ 3}$ is evidently also an early gloss, for it separates verse ^{1} from its complement ^{4} and contains a different, although kindred, law. Furthermore $^{2,\ 3}$ assume that the thief is killed, while ^{4} provides for his punishment in case the thing stolen is still in his possession.

Earlier attempts to recover the original decalogues and pentads

During the first part of the last century the German scholar Bertheau* detected the presence of decads in this primitive code, although he failed to recognize the unity of each. Professors Ewald, Dillmann, and especially Professor Briggs,† traced these groups of ten still further; Briggs also recognized the recurrence of the minor unit five. Professor Paton,‡ by pointing out the secondary passages which had led preceding scholars astray, and by vigorously insisting on the principle that each decad contains only laws bearing on closely related topics, succeeded in restoring four complete decalogues in this code and pointed out several more in the ceremonial and humane sections of Exodus 20^{23}–23^{19}. Professor Paton also called attention to the fact that the law in Deuteronomy $22^{28, 29}$ is identical with that in Exodus 22^{16}, and that it is preceded (Dt. $22^{10\text{-}19, 20\text{-}21, 22, 23\text{-}24, 25\text{-}27}$) by a pentad of what appear to be primitive laws, all of which relate to social purity and join naturally with the corresponding pentad in Exodus $22^{16, 17, 18, 19, 20}$, thus restoring a fifth decalogue. That Deuteronomy is based on the primitive codes, and that it contains certain early laws not found in the older collections, are facts now generally recognized. The assumption, therefore, that Deuteronomy has here preserved a pentad of laws, originally found in the primitive code, but removed by some editor or scribe to whose moral sense they were repugnant, is exceedingly probable.

Evidence that Exodus $22^{16\text{-}20}$ belongs with the original judgments

Although the pentad regarding social purity (Ex. $22^{16\text{-}20}$) has, hitherto, been in part assigned by scholars to the group of religious laws, it is clear that it all belongs to the collection of judgments. The form is the same; the *thou* of the current translations of ^{18} is evidently due to a mistake. Hammurabi in his civil code (§§ 1, 2) provides for the punishment of sorcerers. Even the law against sacrificing to an alien god was classified by the Hebrew lawgivers among the enactments relating to social purity (Lev. 17^{7}, Dt. 31^{16}). In Leviticus 18^{21} the prohibition of sacrifice to Moloch or Milk is found between the laws against adultery and sodomy.

In the light of these facts it is now possible to distinguish the pentad of decalogues which probably constituted the original collection of judgments. The following analyses will indicate their contents as well as the nature of the code as a whole: §

JUDGMENTS

Analysis of the civil and criminal laws

First Decalogue : The Rights of Slaves

First Pentad: Males, Exodus $21^{2, 3a, 3b, 4, 5\text{-}6}$.
Second Pentad: Females, $21^{7, 8, 9, 10, 11}$.

Second Decalogue : Assaults

First Pentad: Capital Offences, $21^{12, 13, 14, 15, 16}$.
Second Pentad: Minor Offences, $21^{18\text{-}19, 20, 21, 26, 27}$.

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* *Die sieben Gruppen mosäischer Gesetze in den mittleren Büchern des Pentateuchs*, 1340.
† *Higher Criticism of the Hexateuch*, pp. 211 ff.
‡ *Journal of the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis*, 1893, pp. 79–93.
§ For these laws arranged in their grouping, cf. Appendix II.

Third Decalogue : Laws Regarding Domestic Animals

First Pentad: Injuries by Animals, $21^{28, 29, 30, 31, 32}$.
Second Pentad: Injuries to Animals, $21^{33-34, 35, 36}$, $22^{1, 4}$.

Fourth Decalogue : Responsibility for Property

First Pentad: In General, $22^{5, 6, 7, 8, 9}$.
Second Pentad: In Cattle, $22^{10-11, 13, 14, 15a, 15b}$.

Fifth Decalogue : Social Purity

First Pentad: Adultery, Deuteronomy $22^{13-19, 20-21, 22, 23-24, 25-27}$.
Second Pentad: Fornication and Apostasy, Exodus $22^{16, 17, 18, 19, 20}$.

Principle of classification

As in the Code of Hammurabi, a serious attempt at systematic classification is here apparent. The general order is: the rights of persons, the rights of property, and the rights of society. Within each decalogue there is evidence also of careful grouping. Each pentad is a unit by itself. Whence this surprising order which is lacking in so many other parts of the Old Testament? It may be due to the powerful influence of the older Babylonian code, or it may simply reflect the tendency of the legal mind.

The four ceremonial and humane decalogues

The ceremonial and humane laws found in 20^{23-26} and 22^{21}–23^{19}, although evidently somewhat disarranged, still reveal unmistakable traces of a similar grouping in decalogues and pentads. The disarrangement, as a rule, does not affect the unity of the pentads. It should be expected, however, that the powerful example of the early decalogue (cf. Ex. 34) would affect the form of the kindred group of the religious even more than the civil laws where its influence has already been traced. The indications favor the conclusion that the primitive decalogue of Exodus 34 gradually developed in Northern Israel into four corresponding decalogues. At present Exodus 20^{23-26}, 22^{21}–23^{19} contain only seven complete pentads, and $23^{4, 5}$, which separate the kindred laws of 23^{1-3} and $^{6-9}$, two commands of an eighth. The remaining three of the pentads are to be found in Deuteronomy 22^{1-7}, which in verses $^{1, 3}$ reproduce Exodus $23^{4, 5}$ word for word, only substituting *brother* for *enemy*. The two commands in Deuteronomy $22^{2, 3}$ are the immediate sequel of ^{1}; and the remaining command, $^{6, 7}$, which enjoins kindness to birds, is evidently primitive and belongs with this cycle of laws.

Exodus 23^{9} is a scribal duplicate of 22^{21}. Rejecting the minor editorial additions, which are readily recognized, the following decalogues appear:

CEREMONIAL AND HUMANE LAWS

Analysis of the ceremonial and humane laws

First Decalogue : Kindness

First Pentad: Toward Men, Exodus $22^{21a, 22-23, 25a, 25b, 26-27}$.
Second Pentad: Toward Animals, Exodus 23^{4} [Deuteronomy 22^{1}], $22^{2, 3}$, Exodus 23^{5} [Deuteronomy 22^{4}], 22^{6-7}.

Second Decalogue : Justice

First Pentad: Among Equals, Exodus $23^{1a, 1b, 2a, 2b, 3}$.
Second Pentad: On the Part of Those in Authority, $23^{6, 7a, 7b, 7c, 8}$.

Third Decalogue : Duties to God

First Pentad: Worship, Exodus $20^{23a, 23b, 24, 25, 26}$.
Second Pentad: Loyalty, Exodus $22^{28, 29a, 29b, 30, 31}$.

Fourth Decalogue : Sacred Seasons

First Pentad: Command to Observe them, Exodus $23^{10-11, 12, 15a, 16a, 16b}$.
Second Pentad: Method of Observing them, Exodus $23^{17, 18a, 18b, 19a, 19b}$.

Original order and extent of these decalogues

These decalogues have been so disarranged that it is impossible to determine with assurance their original order. If they followed the *Judgments*, they probably began with duties to men and led up to duties to God. If the prophetic decalogue of Exodus 20 (Dt. 5) is an index, the original order was the reverse. Possibly the influence of this prophetic decalogue, which was esteemed so highly, explains the transfer of the decalogue regarding duties to God; so that one pentad precedes the *Judgments* and the other pentad precedes the decalogue concerning justice to one's fellow-men. The remarkable symmetry discernible in the grouping of these laws, leads us to expect another decalogue; such a decalogue as would make complete the pentad of decalogues in the group of religious and humane laws corresponding to that of the *Judgments*. The later grouping of the law in the five books of the Pentateuch, the five divisions of the Psalter, and the apparently five-fold grouping in the original Matthew's collection of the Sayings of Jesus are but a few of the many analogies that might be cited. A fifth ceremonial or humane decalogue might be found in Deuteronomy, but the attempt to define it without any guides would be precarious.

The decalogue of Exodus 20^{1-17}

It is an interesting fact that a fifth religious decalogue is now found in the same context, and is none other than the familiar prophetic decalogue of Exodus 20^{1-17}. In its present arrangement the so-called *Greater Book of the Covenant* (Ex. 20–24), with the additions from Deuteronomy, consists of exactly ten decalogues. In the initial decalogue of Exodus 20 the same division into pentads is also apparent; the first laws concerning duties to God and parents, the second concerning duties to one's fellow-men.

Parallels to this decalogue

In addition to those already noted (p. 17) there are, however, serious difficulties involved in regarding this decalogue as originally associated with the primitive codes. Its first and second commands seem to be a briefer and more advanced version of the two laws in 20^{23}. The prototype of the third is perhaps to be found in 22^{28}, *Thou shalt not revile God.* The fourth is a duplicate of 23^{12}, *Six days thou shalt do thy work, but on the seventh thou shalt rest.* The fifth, sixth, seventh, and eighth are briefer, more emphatic, statements of the principles underlying the criminal laws of Exodus 22^{15-27}, $22^{13, 16}$; the ninth is but a restatement of the law in 23^{1}.

The original version and its date

The history of this noblest of decalogues must forever remain shrouded in mystery. Without any close connection with its context, it stands, as we have seen, alone. It is, indeed, a practical duplicate of the decalogue in Deuteronomy 5; the variations in the form of the original words of the fourth and tenth commandments, and the fact that a distinct and variant group of explanatory and hortatory glosses has grown up about many of the original

words (as for example, *Thou shalt not make unto thee a graven image*) indicate that each decalogue has had an independent history. At the same time it is clear that both versions go back to a common original. In the fourth command the Deuteronomic version employs the more primitive word *observe* (cf. Ex. 34^{22}), and the tenth command, that which forbids coveting a neighbor's *wife* (Dt. 5^{21a}), suggests an earlier stage of society than the corresponding *house* of Exodus 20^{17}, which implies that the Hebrews are settled in Canaan; so that, on the whole, Deuteronomy 5 seems to represent the older original. The prominent position of this decalogue in Deuteronomy indicates, however, that it is older than its setting; how much older can never be determined. Internal evidence does not assign it as a whole to a period earlier than the latter part of the eighth century, a time when the influence of the prophets of ethical righteousness was beginning to be felt in Israel, and all use of images in worship was viewed with disfavor by the most enlightened leaders. Possibly it represents the briefer Judean version of the fuller and yet parallel Northern Israelitish decalogues in Exodus 20^{23}–23^{19}. Its present form may simply be due to prophetic revision; its basis is perhaps a very brief popular decalogue, intended for the guidance of the people in their daily relations; while the decalogue in Exodus 34 defined their duties in connection with the ritual and the sanctuary. It is important to note that, with the exception of the second, and possibly the tenth command, there is nothing in the decalogue of Deuteronomy 5 (Ex. 20) fundamentally inconsistent with the conclusion that it came, in its original and simplest form, from Moses himself.

Origin of the decalogue form

In view of all these facts, and aided by means of analogy and imagination, it is possible to construct an approximate history of the growth of Israel's primitive codes. Why the decalogue, from the first and far down into Hebrew history, was the prevailing form into which all laws and precepts were cast, finds its simplest and perhaps most satisfactory explanation in the obvious fact that every normal man from earliest childhood has two hands with five fingers on each. These ten fingers are ever present and suggestive aids to the memory not only of children, but of men as well. If this be the true explanation, a system so simple and yet so effective, is worthy of a genius like that of Moses. There is no reason for doubting that through Israel's first great prophet there was transmitted a primitive decalogue—and possibly several—which defined in ten brief sentences the nation's obligations to its God. It is probable that these ten words were not originally inscribed on two tablets of stone by the finger of Jehovah, but upon the memory of each individual Israelite by association with the fingers of his two hands. In time the ceremonial decalogue, adapted to the new agricultural civilization and to the changed conditions and customs which the Israelites found in Canaan, was inscribed on two tablets of stone, and perhaps at first set up in the temple of Solomon. Naturally, after the division of the Hebrew kingdom, the Judean historians preserved the more exact version of it.

As new ideals dawned upon the consciousness of the race, this primitive decalogue was supplemented, and became, especially in the North, the nucleus about which grew up a much larger body of ceremonial and humane enact-

Growth of new laws and decalogues

ments. All these laws were modelled after the older original, and hence were expressed in the form of a direct personal command (*thou*). Side by side with the memory that Moses was the author of the original ten words, was treasured the tradition that Jehovah's commands were cast in the form of decalogues and pentads. Possibly the priests in this effective way originally impressed the new enactments upon the minds of the people. As new needs arose and new standards were adopted, the priests could easily supplement the older laws by additional decalogues and pentads.

Development of corresponding civil and criminal decalogues

Meantime the demands of the settled agricultural life had made necessary a corresponding group of civil and criminal laws. The customs of the agricultural Canaanites, the inheritors of the older Babylonian laws, were adapted to these new needs and were doubtless, in modified form, largely adopted by the Hebrews. When originally promulgated as a brief code, they were probably grouped in decalogues and pentads. If our explanation be correct, this form was intended primarily to aid the memory, and may be regarded as clear proof, therefore, that these laws, like the corresponding ceremonial group, were probably at first transmitted orally. This fact, then, would explain why all these primitive codes are cast in what at first glance seems to be a very artificial mould. The necessity of conforming to this mould would also explain why some subjects, which are passed over briefly in the Code of Hammurabi—as, for example, injuries by animals (cf. H. C. §§ 250–52 and Ex. 21^{28-32})—are expanded into five laws, while others, as for example the laws regarding property (Ex. 22^{5-15}), though deserving more detailed treatment, are accorded only the same space.

Approximate dates of the primitive codes

It is also probable that the Northern Israelitish school of prophetic historians first committed these civil decalogues to writing. Possibly, as Kuenen has urged, they associated them with Moses' farewell words. Just when they were introduced into the midst of the ceremonial decalogues is not clear; possibly it was the work of the late prophetic editor who substituted the decalogue of Exodus 20^{1-17} and transferred the original Judean decalogue to its present position. At least it is probable that the majority of the laws found in Exodus 20^{23}–23^{19} and 34, were in force as early as the days of the united Hebrew kingdom; and that the five civil and criminal decalogues, and the four surviving ceremonial and humane decalogues, were to be found in written form by the eighth century B.C. These represent, therefore, the growth of Israel's laws and institutions from that early period, about 1150 to about 750 B.C., when Amos and Hosea and Isaiah appeared as the heralds of a new era in the political and religious life of the Hebrew race. To distinguish them from the legal systems of later periods, these oldest collections of laws may as a whole be appropriately designated as the *Primitive Codes;* for they record, in concrete form, the earliest revelation of the Divine will through the life and institutions of the ancient Israelites.

IV

THE DEUTERONOMIC CODES

Influences that produced the new codes

THE appearance of Assyrian armies in Palestine about the middle of the eighth century and the resulting conquest of both Northern and Southern Israel, not only destroyed the simplicity of early Hebrew life, but also introduced new conditions and problems. Assyrian ideas and religious institutions threatened to supplant completely the more austere worship of Jehovah. It was the series of grave crises arising from this changed state of affairs that called forth the first, and in many ways the noblest, group of Israel's prophets, Amos, Hosea, Isaiah and Micah. Their teachings established new ethical and religious standards in Israel. New needs, new conditions and new ideals, therefore, made a recasting of the old primitive codes a necessity. Fortunately the theory and character of Israelitish law made the needed revision possible.

Fruitage of the work of the earlier prophets

The prophet Isaiah, discouraged by faithlessness and apathy, turned from the nobles and people to a little group of devoted disciples in whom he saw the earnest of an ultimate acceptance of his teachings by the nation. *I will preserve the revelation and seal up the instruction among my disciples*, were the words that he uttered, words full of promise for the future (Is. 8^{16}). The reactionary reign of Manasseh silenced the lips of the prophets. For forty or fifty years after the death of Isaiah, the old Canaanitish cults and especially the newly introduced Assyrian religion, commanded the devotion of the people of Judah and led them to forget almost entirely the exalted ethical teachings of the group of prophets who had followed Amos. The reaction, however, disclosed the crying needs of the situation; and these needs led the disciples of the true prophets to devote themselves to the formulation of the vital principles of their masters in laws so definite that the most obtuse could understand and apply them to the details of every-day thought and life. The noble results of the activity of these disciples are recorded in the book of Deuteronomy.

Their spirit prophetic and popular

The spirit of this wonderful book is prophetic rather than priestly. The emphasis is placed on deeds and spirit rather than ceremonial. Worship is important only as it is an expression of an attitude of loyalty to Jehovah. Little is said about the ritual; and the prophet figures more prominently than the priest (cf. 18). Love to God, love to man, kindness to the needy and oppressed, and even to animals, are the dominant notes in the book. The appeal is not so much to fear of punishment as to the conscience of the individual. The exact penalty for a given crime is often left to the judge. The omission of all technical data and the popular form of the enactments indicate that this book was intended for the guidance of the people rather than of judges or priests. The whole is presented in the form of a farewell address in the mouth of

Moses. In him, as their first great representative, the prophets are made to rise above the temporal and local conditions that called them forth, and to proclaim, with divine authority and in specific terms, the principles, humane, political, social, ethical and religious that underlay all their teachings.

Their relation to earlier codes

Yet the codes of Deuteronomy do not represent a break with Israel's earlier legal traditions; they are, rather, a natural evolution. Three-fourths of the laws found in the previous codes are represented in Deuteronomy. Those which were omitted (found in Ex. 21^{18}–$22^{25, 28, 29b}$) were of interest only to judges when imposing penalties for specific crimes; and they did not, therefore, conserve the popular aim of the book of Deuteronomy. Although most of the earlier laws are reproduced in spirit, very few are quoted verbatim (cf. Ex. 34^{26b}, 23^{19b} and Dt. 14^{21c}). The days of a slavish worship of the letter of the law are, evidently, still in the future. Usually the purport of the primitive laws is reproduced in the peculiar language of the Deuteronomic writers, fully supplemented by explanations and exhortations (cf. *e. g.*, Ex. 21^{2-7} and Dt. 19^{1-13}). Often the usage represented by the earlier codes is modified or entirely abrogated. Thus the law of Exodus 20^{24-26}, a law recognizing as perfectly legitimate the many altars scattered throughout ancient Israel, is annulled by the commands of Deuteronomy 12^{1-28}, $16^{5, 6}$ that declare illegal every sacrifice performed outside of Jerusalem.

Sources of the principles underlying Deuteronomy

In most instances the reasons for the new rulings can be traced either to the changed political and social conditions or to the teachings of some earlier prophet. Hence an endeavor to guard against a heathen reaction like that in the days of Manasseh, made it possible, after the fall of Samaria, to centralize all worship in Jerusalem. Amos and Hosea regarded the local shrines of Palestine with little favor (Am. 5^5, 7^9, Hos. 4^{13}). The lofty ideals of justice and social righteousness that permeate the book of Deuteronomy, are clearly traceable to the sermons of Amos and Isaiah; and its distinctive spirit, that of love to God and man, is the clear reflection of the central doctrine of Hosea. It was this epoch-making prophet, Hosea, who declared that the worship of heathen gods and the practising of heathen rites was whoredom, treason to Jehovah, and the cause of the nation's undoing. He demanded nothing less than that his people *love Jehovah with all their heart and with all their soul, and with all their might.*

Moses' relation to the Deuteronomic codes

The assignment by the later editors of Deuteronomy of all the laws of this noble prophetic law-book to Moses, is singularly appropriate. The public address was the characteristic prophetic method of presenting truth. This is illustrated not only by the so-called oral prophecies but also by the prophetic histories, wherein long speeches containing the doctrines of their late prophetic editors, are put in the mouths of Moses, Joshua, Samuel and David. Indeed this literary form is common in all literature, especially in ancient writings (cf. Vol. II, p. 4). Israelitish history and tradition also united in attributing all primitive laws to the master-mind that first moulded the race. These laws furnished the foundation of the new codes. Not to have acknowledged the supreme debt to Moses would have been unwarranted. It is but fair to say that they represent what the great prophet would have taught had he been confronted by the later needs and stood in the light of later revela-

tion. Through all the laws, early and late alike, the same God was making known his will to men. It mattered little who was his spokesman; the laws themselves bore on their face the credentials of their divine origin.

Evidence that Deuteronomy is later than the primitive codes

The evidence that the mass of the laws in Deuteronomy are a century or two later than those of the primitive codes, is cumulative and conclusive. Kingship, as well as prophecy, has become an important element in the state (17^{14-20}). The crimes of such rulers as Solomon and Ahab are evidently in the mind of the prophet lawgivers ($16, 17$). A supreme court at Jerusalem has been established (17^{8-13}). Not only the many shrines but also the sacred pillars and asherahs (consecrated tree-poles), which were countenanced in the early prophetic narratives and tolerated without protest from the prophets far down into the Assyrian period, are placed under the ban (12^{3}, 16^{22}). Many other heathen institutions that flourished during the reigns of Ahaz and Manasseh, are also strictly forbidden (17^{3-5}). The Babylonian exile, be it said, casts its dark shadow across certain pages of Deuteronomy (*e. g.*, 4^{25-29}). The marks of that period are distinctive; the peculiar language and ideas of Deuteronomy are closely related to those of Jeremiah and the disciples who edited his book of prophecies.

Date of the original edition

The evidence regarding the date of the Deuteronomic laws all points to the latter part of the seventh century. The evils of the reign of Manasseh have become patent; and the prophetic lawgivers take up the task of guarding Israel against them for all future time. The spirit of the books as a whole is decidedly hopeful. Its authors seem to contemplate not the distant but the immediate possibility of reform. The rigorous enactments regarding the punishment of the devotees of the ancient heathen cults, strongly suggest the spirit of the early reformers under Josiah, rather than the dark, reactionary reign of Manasseh. From beginning to end it is essentially a reform book. It seems probable, though the question can never be absolutely decided, that the original edition of Deuteronomy was completed somewhere between the beginning of Josiah's reign in 639 and the great reform in 621 B.C., rather than in the days of Manasseh or earlier, as has been sometimes urged.

Evidence that it was the basis of Josiah's reforms

That this was the *Book of the Covenant*, found, according to II Kings 22, by Hilkiah the priest while conducting repairs in the temple, has been recognized by scholars since the days of Jerome. The reforms, instituted by the king after the newly discovered law-book had been verified by the prophetic order, and publicly read and promulgated by him, are in perfect accord with the demands of Deuteronomy. All the symbols of the heathen cults were first cast out of the temple and destroyed (cf. Dt. 12^{3}, 17^{3}). All the high places, their altars, and the sacred pillars, were broken down; the asherahs were hewn in pieces (Dt. 12). Necromancy and witchcraft were suppressed (Dt. 18^{11}). Practically every recorded act in that great reformation is in accord with a specific command of Deuteronomy. Henceforth until the days of Nehemiah and Ezra the life of the Jews of Palestine was regulated by this wonderful law-book.

Aside from the later introductions in 1–4, and the farewell speeches, exhortations, and blessings (cf. Vol. I, p. 42), the book of Deuteronomy consists

Analysis of the laws of Deuteronomy

of seven rather loosely defined groups of laws. These are found in the distinctively legal sections, 5–26. The first includes the prophetic decalogue, 5^{6-21}, and is followed by a series of exhortations based on the first command. The second group, 12^{1}–17^{7}, consists of ceremonial and religious laws. The third, 17^{8}–18^{22}, describes the appointment and duties of the officials —the judges, the king, the priests and the prophets—in the theocracy. In the fourth, 19, is found a collection of criminal laws. With this group is associated, by community of subject, the law in 21^{1-9} regarding the expiation of an untraced murder. The fifth group, 20, 21^{10-14}, consists of military laws to be observed in case of war. The sixth, 21^{15}–25^{19}, includes a miscellaneous collection of civil, criminal, humane, and religious laws. No systematic principle of classification is here apparent. Many of these laws are closely related to those found in the other groups. They seem to represent the result of compilation, and to be a series of supplements added to the preceding collections. The seventh group, 26, relates to the presentation of the first-fruits and the triennial tithe.

Lack of logical arrangement

The laws of Deuteronomy are in general characterized by lack of logical order and arrangement, though, compared with the primitive codes, there is evidence of an attempt at classification. Except in the commands of 5^{6-21}, and in a few citations from earlier collections (*e. g.*, $22^{1-4,\ 13-30}$), the system of grouping in decalogues and pentads has been abandoned; a fact probably due to the authors' expectation that their laws would be promulgated not in oral but in written form.

Evidences that the laws come from a school of writers

It is obvious, also, that the book of Deuteronomy does not consist of one code coming from the same hand; for it bears all the marks of a collection of minor codes which have been gradually brought together into their present relations. The same subjects are treated in widely separated sections; and, conversely, entirely disconnected themes are brought into close connection. In addition to the primitive enactments of Exodus 20–23, many other earlier laws have evidently been utilized as the basis of these revised codes. These, as a rule, can readily be recognized by their more primitive form and content (cf. 22). Yet so homogeneous are the phraseology, spirit, and purpose which characterize all the different codes that they establish the underlying unity of the book as a whole. This is more marked and significant than the evidence for different groups of laws from widely different dates. That the different collections or codes are the work of the same school of writers, who from time to time expanded and supplemented the original nucleus of laws, seems to be the true explanation of the repetitions and minor variations in language and point of view.

The original Book of the Covenant

Both the peculiar structure of the book of Deuteronomy and the report of Josiah's reformation in II Kings 22, favor the conclusion that the original Book of the Covenant, the basis alike of Deuteronomy and of the initial reforms, is represented by chapters 12–19 and 26. With this nucleus was probably associated from the first the original form of the blessings and curses in 28. These sections contain all the regulations which are reported to have been enforced by the reformers.

To make the new code the comprehensive law-book of the realm, the mis-

cellaneous groups of laws in 20–25 were doubtless early added. Then, with the same aim, and by the same school of prophetic reformers, the decalogue and exhortations in 5–11 were later joined. The provisions in 27 for the public promulgation and enforcement of the law appear to belong to a later stratum of the book. The entire legal section (5–28), however, was in the present form probably complete, or nearly so, before the Babylonian exile. Its codes, therefore, represent the development of Israel's law under the influence of the great prophetic preachers and editors who lived and worked between 750 and 600 B.C. To distinguish them from the earlier primitive codes on the one side, and the later development of Israel's law on the other, they may appropriately be designated as the *Deuteronomic* or *Prophetic Codes* (technically represented by D). In them is found a large proportion of the noblest and most enduring legislation in the Old Testament.

Completion of the prophetic law-book

V

EZEKIEL AND THE HOLINESS CODE

The tendencies in the exile to develop written codes

THE promulgation of the Deuteronomic codes marked the beginning of the reign of the written law. Before that date oral laws and customs sufficed almost entirely for the needs of the people; but henceforth the authority of the written law steadily increased until it ultimately overshadowed *the word of the prophet and the counsel of the wise.* To this tendency the revolutionary experiences of the Babylonian exile gave a powerful impetus. The new conditions amid which the survivors of the Jewish race found themselves, suddenly transformed them into a literary people (cf. p. 13). Upon the work of the scribe depended the preservation of their laws and institutions; and closely bound up with these was the future of the race. The exile also gave its religious leaders new points of view and the changed conditions made new laws necessary. Deuteronomy contained few ceremonial laws; but in the minds of the exiled priests in Babylon the ritual occupied the position of commanding importance. Hence they proceeded to record the customary usages of the destroyed temple, to improve upon these where improvement was necessary and feasible, and thus to develop codes adapted to the needs of that restored Jewish community which was the object of their dreams.

Ezekiel's activity as a code-maker

The prophet Ezekiel clearly illustrates this tendency. Born a priest, probably trained at the temple and familiar with its institutions as well as with the recently promulgated Deuteronomic codes, he, together with other Jewish priests and nobles, was carried captive to Babylonia in 597 B.C. The first period of his residence in captivity was devoted to the work of preaching; but in 572 B.C., near the close of his ministry, he prepared the remarkable programme or code found in chapters 40–48 of his book. It is in the form of a detailed vision of the restored community and temple. Chapters 40–43 describe the new sanctuary on Mount Zion, 44–46 the ordinances to be observed in connection with it, while 47 and 48 give a picturesque account of the rehabilitation and allotment of the land of Israel.

His new and revolutionizing regulations

Many of the measurements and ceremonial laws of this code are undoubtedly reproductions of those of the pre-exilic temple, an institution with which Ezekiel was personally acquainted. He does not hesitate, however, to introduce entirely new regulations. The temple slaves of alien blood, who had formerly ministered at the sanctuary, are forever excluded ($44^{7, 8}$). Also the Levites, the descendants of the priests of the local shrines outside Jerusalem, who, according to Deuteronomy $18^{7, 8}$ were allowed to officiate at the temple, were now excluded from this privilege (44^{13}) and assigned to the menial duties hitherto performed by the temple slaves. Only the sons of Zadok were permitted to approach Jehovah's altar and to offer sacrifices to him. Thus

Ezekiel for the first time establishes that sharp distinction between priest and Levite which was soon universally accepted; but in his code the high priest is simply the head of the priesthood and is not yet clad in special garments and invested with supreme authority as the civil and spiritual head of the community. Instead of the later elaborate ceremonial of the day of atonement on the tenth of the seventh month (Nu. 29^{7-11}), Ezekiel ordains that twice each year—at the beginning of the first and sixth months—a rite of atonement be observed, but with a very different and much simpler sacrificial formula (45^{18-20}).

His place among Israel's lawgivers

It is not strange that later Jewish rabbis, confronted by these and other wide variations, found great difficulty in reconciling Ezekiel's code with their own theory of the origin of Israelitish law, and that they were inclined to regard it as a heretical. To the modern scholar Ezekiel is an invaluable index to the true history of the Old Testament legislation; for his work can be definitely dated. Evidently his code is the successor of the Deuteronomic and the precursor of those priestly codes which became the ultimate formative norm of later Judaism. He is one of the pioneers in the movement emanating from the exiles in Babylonia that defined religion in the terms of the ritual and aimed to develop a detailed series of laws regulating the life of the individual and, especially, the ceremonial services of the temple.

His influence upon later Judaism

His code, as such, was never practically adopted by the Jewish race. For nearly two centuries more the Deuteronomic codes sufficed for the needs of the struggling community in Palestine. Much in Ezekiel's programme, as for example the allotment of the land, was theoretical, not practical. At the same time the principles that he emphasized, and most of the innovations that he advocated, were taken up by later priestly lawgivers and in modified and more practical form were incorporated in the law-book ultimately adopted by the Jews of Palestine. His primary aim in developing his code in this concrete and dramatic way, was to convince his contemporaries that Jehovah's people would certainly be restored to their native land, and to inspire them to prepare for the return. The later codes, as well as subsequent history, demonstrate that his higher prophetic purpose was realized. Thus he stands, not merely as the incarnation of the dominant spirit of the exile, but also as the man who, more than any other, shaped the life and thought of later Judaism.

His dominant idea: Jehovah's holiness

Underlying all of Ezekiel's preaching and laws is the dominant conception of Jehovah's holiness. The arrangement of the temple, its ritual, the laws guarding the ceremonial purity of the priest, even the allotment of the land, these all are intended to guard the central sanctuary and the Holy One inhabiting it from coming again into contact with anything common or unclean. Furthermore, these elaborate regulations were intended to impress strongly upon the minds of his readers the supreme holiness of Jehovah and the corresponding obligation of his people to be holy. The vision of Isaiah (Is. 6) is here interpreted into the terms of both ritual and life.

The same conception and application reappear in the laws of Leviticus 17–26: and are so distinctive that this collection has been appropriately designated, and is now generally known as, the *Holiness Code* (technically

Points of contact between Ezekiel and the Holiness Code

represented by P^h). The underlying thought that binds the group together is expressed in the words of Jehovah in Leviticus 22^{31-33}, *Ye shall observe my commands and do them: I am Jehovah. And ye shall not profane my holy name; but I will be treated as holy among the Israelites. I am Jehovah who maketh you holy, who brought you out of the land of Egypt, to be your God: I am Jehovah* (cf. 19^2, $20^{7, 8, 26}$, $21^{6-8, 15, 23}$, $22^{9, 16}$). A study of the individual laws demonstrates that, as in Ezekiel, both moral and ceremonial holiness is contemplated. The impressive refrain, *I am Jehovah*, is repeated forty-six times and is one of many common characteristics that distinguish these laws. The same expression is also found seventy-eight times in Ezekiel, and not once in the writings of his earlier contemporaries, Isaiah and Jeremiah. There are many other striking points of contact both in vocabulary and idiom. The unusual formula beginning, *Every man of the house of Israel* (Lev. $17^{3, 8, 10, 13, 15}$), is found nowhere else in the Old Testament except in Ezekiel, where it is very common (*e. g.*, Ezek. $14^{4, 7, 8}$, $44^{10, 12}$). The social crimes especially prohibited in the Holiness Code (*e. g.*, 18^8, $20^{10-12, 17}$, $19^{13, 15, 36}$, 20^9, 21^{1-5}),* are denounced by Ezekiel in terms almost identical (*e. g.*, $22^{10, 11}$, $18^{7, 8, 12, 16}$, $33^{15, 25}$, 45^{10}, 22^7, $44^{25, 20}$). A like emphasis is also laid on the sanctity of the temple (cf. Lev. 19^{30}, 20^3, $21^{12, 23}$, 26^2 and Ezek. 5^{11}, 8^6, $23^{38, 39}$). Both seek to guard the priesthood from all possible defilement. Thus in language, thought, and purpose, Ezekiel and the laws of the Holiness Code are bound together by closest ties.

Explanation of the points of likeness

The points of contact are so many and so fundamental that they can be explained only on the assumption of a vital connection between the two. At the same time minor variations in vocabulary and representation indicate that Ezekiel was not the author of both. Thus, for example, the Holiness Code knows nothing of his distinction between the priests and Levites. It also sanctions, except in the case of the high priest (Lev. 21^{14}), the marriage of priests with widows, a practice which Ezekiel condemns (44^{22}). A detailed comparison of the two systems leads to the conclusion that both come from the same priestly circles and approximately the same date, but that Ezekiel was acquainted with the major portion of the laws in the Holiness Code.

Contents of Leviticus 17 and 18

In its present form the Holiness Code consists of ten or eleven groups of laws, which have evidently been disarranged at several points or else disturbed by insertions made by later priestly editors. The first group, 17^{3-16}, includes a pentad of much expanded laws regarding the slaughter of animals and sacrifice. All except the last are introduced by the peculiar formula, *Every man of the house of Israel* ($3, 8, 10, 13$). The completion of this decalogue is perhaps to be found in $18^{3, 4}$, a passage which contains a group of brief commands emphasizing the duty of faithful allegiance to Jehovah. The next section, 18^{6-30}, embraces, as Professor Paton has pointed out,† two decalogues regarding purity in the social relations. Here, as in 19, the formula, *I am Jehovah*, marks the end of each pentad. The following indicates the method of classification:

* For a detailed comparison of vocabulary, literary style and teachings, cf. Carpenter and Battersby, *The Hexateuch*, I. 147–51.

† Jour. of Bib. Lit., 1897, Vol. XVI. 31 ff.

First Decalogue : Purity in Those Related through Parents and Children

First Pentad: Kinship of the First Degree, Leviticus $18^{6, 7, 8, 9, 10}$.
Second Pentad: Kinship of the Second Degree, $18^{11, 12, 13, 14, 15}$.

Second Decalogue : Purity in Remoter Relationship

First Pentad: Relationship through Marriage, $18^{16, 17a, 17b, 18, 19}$.
Second Pentad: Outside the Family, $18^{20, 21, 22, 23a, 23b}$.

The remaining verses of chapter 18 ($^{24-30}$) contain a concluding exhortation; this, as a whole, is probably from the original editor of the code, but at several points is supplemented by a later priest.

The decalogues in Leviticus 19

Leviticus 19 contains a large group of laws regarding religious, moral, and ceremonial duties. Those in $^{2-8}$ have evidently been disarranged. They are in part parallel to the prophetic decalogue of Exodus 20^{2-17}. The parallel is still more complete if the dislocated fragment in 24^{15b-22} be combined with 19^{2-8}. Possibly they represent the remnants of an original decalogue. Furthermore, if ^{35} be transferred to its logical position after ^{11a}, two complete decalogues and one pentad of a third decalogue, are to be found in $^{9-18}$. The end of each pentad is again marked by the formula, *I am Jehovah*. The analysis is as follows:

First Decalogue : Duties to Others

First Pentad: Kindness to the Needy, $19^{9a, 9b, 10a, 10b, 10c}$.
Second Pentad: Honesty in Business Relations, $19^{11a, 35, 11b, 11c, 12}$.

Second Decalogue : Laws against Injustice

First Pentad: Toward Dependents, $19^{13a, 13b, 13c, 14a, 14b}$.
Second Pentad: In Legal Matters, $19^{15a, 15b, 15c, 16a, 16b}$.

Third Decalogue : Laws against Unkindness

First Pentad: In the Heart, $^{17a, 17b, 18a, 19a, 19b}$.

It is in this last pentad that the Old Testament legislation reaches its noblest expression: one of its commands, *Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself*, is exalted by Jesus to a position of transcendent authority. Remnants of the second pentad, which probably dealt with unkindness to the helpless, are perhaps to be found in $19^{33, 34}$, *An alien . . . in your land ye shall not wrong. Thou shalt love him as thyself.* Leviticus 19^{19} contains three laws against the mixing of dissimilar things. Duplicate versions of these are found in Deuteronomy 22^{9-11}. In the same context, $^{5, 12}$, are found the remaining two laws of this pentad. One of them has, for some unknown reason, been removed from its natural connection in Leviticus 19 and is now found in Numbers 15^{37-41}. This section has all the characteristics of the Holiness Code and was probably once a part of it. The second pentad of this decalogue is now to be found in $^{26-28}$; but in $^{20-25}$ several incongruous laws regarding

illicit relations between a free man and a betrothed slave and the eating of the fruit of young trees, have been introduced. The following appears to have been the original form of the laws:

Decalogue concerning Prohibited Practices

First Pentad: Mingling of Dissimilar Things (Dt. 22^{5}), Leviticus 19^{19b}, ^{19c}, ^{19d}, Numbers 15^{37-41}.

Second Pentad: Imitation of Heathen Practices, Leviticus 19^{26a}, ^{26b}, ^{27}, ^{28a}, ^{28b}.

The remainder of the chapter, $^{29-37}$, contains a composite of social and humane laws.

Analysis of Leviticus 20–25

Leviticus $20^{2-7, 27}$ prescribes the penalty to be imposed for apostasy and necromancy, while 20^{8-26} contains a group of laws regarding chastity and ceremonial purity which are closely parallel to those in 18. The former passage (20^{2-7}) prescribes the penalties; in 18 the crimes are simply prohibited. Each group also employs different formulas and follows slightly different systems of classification. The laws in 18 are simpler, more homogeneous, and cast in the decalogue and pentad form, facts which indicate that these laws are probably much older than their present setting. Leviticus 21^{1}–22^{16} contains the laws regarding the priests; 22^{21-32} defines the animals suitable for sacrifice. Most of Leviticus 23 is evidently from a later priest, but in $^{10-20, 39-42}$ are found certain early regulations regarding the observation of the feasts of unleavened bread, weeks, and tabernacles. As has already been noted (p. 39), the detached group of criminal laws in 24^{15b-22} evidently belong with 19. The rest of 24 is from a later priestly source. The original humane laws in 25 ($^{2b-7, 14, 17-22, 24, 25, 35-40a, 43, 47, 53, 55b}$) which aim through the institution of the Sabbatical and year of jubilee to relieve the unfortunate and needy, are also closely related to the other regulations of the Holiness Code. The many late priestly supplements are readily recognized.

Leviticus 26

The concluding chapter (26) emphasizes, in the form of a hortatory address, the fundamental duty of loyalty to Jehovah and his commands. In thought and spirit this chapter closely resembles the concluding exhortations of Deuteronomy. The evils that will follow disobedience are solemnly pointed out; and in $^{30-39}$ a vivid picture is given of the horrors of exile. This is followed in $^{40-45}$ by the prospect of a restoration, if the people repent. The promise, however, is not nearly so definite or detailed as that contained in Ezekiel 40–48. The Holiness Code also has its own concluding formula (^{46}) indicating clearly that it was once a complete and independent collection: *These are the statutes and judgments and laws which Jehovah made between himself and the Israelites on Mount Sinai by the hand of Moses.*

Real character of the Holiness Code

The concluding exhortations, as well as the many civil, criminal and humane laws, demonstrate that this remarkable code was more than a manual for the use of priests. Like Deuteronomy, it was evidently intended to be a book for the people. As in Deuteronomy, the penalties are few, the appeal is to the individual conscience, and, in many sections, the direct second person singular, *Thou*, is employed. In contrast with the later priestly codes,

it has many other fundamental points of contact with the laws of Deuteronomy. It emphasizes the obligation to offer sacrifices only at Jerusalem and manifests the same uncompromising hostility to all heathen cults (17^{3-7}, $19^{4, 30}$, 20^{1-8}, 26^{1}). It makes no reference to the later sin-offerings and knows of only two kinds of animal sacrifice, the burnt-offering and the ordinary sacrifice. Its system of feasts is simple, corresponding closely to those in Deuteronomy and the early prophetic narratives. For these feasts no fixed date has yet been established. The spring feast is still simply a harvest festival and the later stern day of atonement is unknown.

The blending of prophetic and priestly elements

In the Holiness Code the humane element is also very prominent. The spirit of the prophet pervades it. In this respect it is a worthy companion piece and sequel of Deuteronomy. At the same time the interest in the ritual is more marked and the point of view of the priest is constantly revealed. It is a remarkable blending of these two very different *motifs*. In subject-matter and aim it stands midway between the prophetic codes of Deuteronomy, and the priestly codes of Ezekiel and the later writers who place the emphasis chiefly upon the ceremonial.

Its probable date

In its original unity, before supplemented by the late priestly additions that were intended to bring it into conformity with the later point of view, the Holiness Code stands, also, in point of time between the Deuteronomic codes and that of Ezekiel. It bears the marks of the Babylonian exile; and yet there is everywhere apparent an intimate acquaintance with the life of the pre-exilic Judean state. Likewise, Ezekiel's sermons, delivered before the final destruction of Jerusalem in 586 B.C., reveal in language, ideas, and aims, an intimate familiarity with the majority of its laws. It is probable, therefore, that the original draft of this code was made between the first and final captivity (597–586 B.C.), a period in which the more enlightened leaders, like Jeremiah and Ezekiel, saw clearly that the state was doomed, and that Israel's laws and institutions, if they were to be preserved, must be put into written form.

The older elements in the code

The presence of many duplicate versions of the same law, the primitive nature of certain of the regulations, the frequent points of contact with the early codes in Exodus 20^{23}–23^{19}, and the pentad and decalogue structure of several groups of laws, strongly suggest that the work of the exilic editor was largely the work of a compiler, and that many of its enactments come from a much earlier period in Hebrew history. This is especially true of the simple decalogues in 17–19. Their structure indicates that they were originally intended to be orally transmitted. They are apparently the Judean counterparts of the Northern Israelitish *Judgments* and of the religious and humane laws in Exodus 20^{23}–23^{19}. Their roots are probably to be traced to the Mosaic and nomadic periods of Israelitish history. In their pentad and decalogue form, however, they assume the settled agricultural life of Palestine. Furthermore, the majority of them reflect the ethical teachings of the prophets of the eighth century B.C. It is therefore probable that they were not promulgated before the latter part of that century. Some of them, as for example those in 17^{1}–18^{5}, cannot be earlier than the age of Deuteronomy. The remainder of the original Holiness Code apparently

records the standards and ceremonial usages in vogue in Judah during the half century immediately before the exile; although many of them doubtless reflect customs as old as the Hebrew race. Thus, as in the case of every Old Testament code, a majority of the laws are much older than the date of the collection in which they are at present found; hence, it may truly be said that the later Jewish traditions which aim to emphasize the antiquity of Israel's laws are not without a large and substantial basis in fact.

VI

THE PRIESTLY CODES

For at least two centuries after the fall of Jerusalem in 586 B.C., the influences that had led Ezekiel and the author or authors of the Holiness Code to develop their legal systems, continued to bear abundant fruit. The result is a large body of heterogeneous regulations and traditional precedents, now scattered through Exodus, Leviticus and Numbers, but all sharing certain marked characteristics which distinguish them sharply from Israel's earlier laws. The first characteristic is that they all, with the exception of Numbers 27^{1-11}, 35 and 36, relate to ceremonial observances. Thus at once are revealed the point of view of the priest and the dominant interest of exilic and post-exilic Judaism. These priestly laws represent the bridge over which the Israelitish race passed from the highly ethical and spiritual religion of the pre-exilic prophets to the rigorous ritualism of the scribes and Pharisees.

Growth of later ceremonial laws

Throughout, these laws assume the belief in one supreme Deity, worshipped by his people at one central sanctuary. Though written, as most of them are, from the point of view of the wilderness, they ignore the unequivocal testimony of the earlier historical records, and assume that the institutions which developed in the later days of the kingdom or grew out of the changed conditions of the exile, were in full force in the age of Moses. In this belief they share again the peculiar point of view of later Judaism. Like the Chronicler (cf. Vol. II, pp. 27, 28), they have, in their passionate love for the temple and its ritual, lost the historical perspective, and project back on the barren canvas of the wilderness the priestly ideals which fill their minds.

Their peculiar point of view

Their vocabulary and conception of the ritual, as compared with those of the pre-exilic lawgivers, have also undergone a fundamental transformation. Thus, for example, the earlier word for sacrificial gift (*minhah*), a word that signified both vegetable and animal offerings, is used fully ninety times, but always with the restricted meaning of *cereal-offering*. Likewise, the pre-exilic forms of sacrifice in which the individual offerers prominently participate, fall into the background; and in the later priestly codes practically all the sacrifices, with the exception of the sin-offering, are public and under the charge of the priests and Levites. Whole burnt-offerings, of which all or the greater part of the animal is consumed or given to the priestly representatives of Jehovah, take the place of those earlier sacrificial feasts in which only a small part was burnt and the major portion eaten by the offerer, his family and dependents, and the poor Levites. The ancient festivals cease to be joyous feasts closely connected with the harvests, and become solemn religious assemblies celebrated at fixed dates and with only slightly varying public

Wide variations from the earlier codes

sacrifices. Certain new festivals, like the day of atonement, and certain new offerings, like the sin-offering, appear in these later laws. All these new ideas and institutions are the outgrowth of the sense of guilt impressed by the exile upon the consciousness of the race. These increased forms and sacrifices indicate also an ardent desire to attain a ceremonial purity more worthy of the favor of the Holy One. The separation between the priesthood and the laity, slight indeed in the earliest period, is now complete; and the distinction between priest and Levite, first made by Ezekiel, is now absolute; each class of temple ministers, moreover, have defined for them in detail their rights and limitations.

Aims of the priestly law-givers

These radical distinctions evince the real animus of the later priestly law-givers. Like Ezekiel and the authors of the Holiness Code, on the one hand, they were uplifted by an awful sense of the holiness and majesty of Jehovah; and on the other hand, like all their race after the great calamity of 586 B.C., they were crushed with a sense of national guilt. As individuals they were conscious of no great sins, but their race as a whole seemed to lie, rejected and polluted, under the dark shadow of Jehovah's displeasure. The prophetic doctrine of personal righteousness seemed inadequate to meet the needs of the situation. The priest, therefore, influenced by all the precedents of the past, by the example of the Babylonians and other contemporary nations and by the traditions of their own class, sought relief through the ritual. Forthwith they set to work to purge their ritual of its unworthy heathen elements, to elaborate it in such manner that it might prove adequate to the great need, to guard it by carefully formulated laws from all irregularity or perversion, and finally, so to establish its divine authority that the faithful observation of each regulation would be assured.

Evidence of gradual growth and different editors

Studied in the light of these common aims, the various priestly laws possess a real unity. At the same time the evidence indicates clearly that they come not from one but several hands, during a period of a century or two; for within the priestly codes themselves there are repetitions of particular laws in the same or different forms. Leviticus 6^{8}–7^{38}, for example, covers practically the same ground as chapters 1–5; and in some cases laws that appear to be late supplant or modify or supplement older regulations. The present structure of the priestly codes indicates, moreover, that they are made up of originally distinct, sometimes very loosely co-ordinated, groups of laws.

The priestly directions or teaching

Such a group is found in Leviticus 1–3, 5–7, 11–15, Numbers 5, 6, 15 and $19^{14\text{-}22}$. It is distinguished from all other groups by the presence of such introductory or closing formulæ as: *This is the torah of the burnt-offering* (Lev. 6^{9}), or *of the cereal-offering* (Lev. 6^{14}), or *of the guilt-offering* (cf. also Lev. 6^{25}, 7^{11}, 11^{46}, 12^{7}, $14^{1, 54}$, 15^{32}, Nu. 5^{29}, 6^{21}, 19^{14}). This collection of laws is evidently a manual for the guidance of priests and worshippers in the discharge of their sacrificial obligations. It deals with the different kinds of sacrifice, the distinctions between clean and unclean, the rules of observance for priests and people, and the duties of those assuming the Nazirite vow. The majority of these laws are evidently based on *tôrôth* or decisions rendered by the priests (hence for the group the technical designation P^{t}). The frequently recurring phrase, *according to the ordinance* (*e. g.*, Lev. 5^{10}, Nu. 15^{24}),

also suggests that many of these laws simply reproduce established (possibly earlier documentary) regulations of the pre-exilic temple.

Their origin and date

In language and theme the priestly directions are rather closely related both to each other and to the Holiness Code. They have been revised at certain points and adapted to the priestly point of view; but in their oldest form they were apparently associated with the pre-exilic tent of meeting, not with the late priestly dwelling or tabernacle. Furthermore, occasional traces of pentads strengthen the conclusion that this group of laws, like the Holiness Code, has as its nucleus certain pre-exilic priestly regulations. These earliest regulations have been supplemented by formularies of customs that had gradually grown up about the temple, and by rules of procedure given by older priests for the guidance of their younger colleagues and for worshippers. The changed conditions of the exile led to further revision and supplementing, until these priestly directions attained their present form. To date them exactly is impossible. The older pentads probably go back to the days of the two Hebrew kingdoms, and, in many cases, doubtless reflect still earlier customs. The final formulation of the laws as a whole cannot, however, be dated before the earlier part of the exile. They were probably joined to the other priestly codes at a considerably later date; for they have no organic connection with their context nor with the historical framework that furnishes the setting for most of the later laws.

The groundwork of the priestly codes

The groundwork of the priestly codes (technically known as P^G) consists (1) of an historical introduction to the Old Testament laws as a whole (designated in Vol. I, pp. 43–48, as the *Late Priestly Narratives*), and (2) of a more or less homogeneous group of laws that is adjusted to this framework. As has already been noted (Vol. I), the historical sections are very terse, indeed little more than genealogical lists, except where they expand to introduce a covenant like that of the sabbath (Gen. 1^1–2^{4a}), or an important legal institution like the rite of circumcision (Gen. 17). They trace Israel's history in outline to the settlement in Canaan; but they find their true culmination in the covenant and traditional legislation at Sinai. Sinai and the wilderness, therefore, furnish the setting for all the laws peculiar to this groundwork. The dwelling or tabernacle takes the place of the later temple, and all the laws intended for subsequent use centre about it. In the wilderness, apart from all people and things that might defile, the ideal ceremonial purity of the *congregation* and *camp* is set forth in carefully elaborated regulations.

Its contents and date

To this groundwork belong the main body of the laws regarding the passover in Exodus $12^{1\text{-}13,\ 43\text{-}49}$, the detailed directions regarding the dwelling or tabernacle in 25–29, the law of the sabbath ($35^{2,\ 3}$), the consecration of the priesthood (Lev. 9–10), the day of atonement (16), the sacred calendar ($23^{4\text{-}8,\ 23\text{-}25,\ 33\text{-}38}$), the lamps and showbread ($24^{1\text{-}9}$), the census at Sinai (Nu. $1^{1\text{-}4}$), the Levites (3), the priestly benediction ($6^{22\text{-}27}$), the use of trumpets ($10^{1\text{-}8}$), and the duties and dues of the priests and Levites (18). The fact that the same technical terms, peculiar idioms, and characteristic ideas bind together these laws and their historical setting, suggests that they may have once constituted an independent literary unit. If so, they may, on the basis

of the narrative sections, be approximately dated somewhere between 450 and 400 B.C. (cf. Vol. I, p. 47).

The supplemental priestly codes

What has been true of all legal codes was especially so in a period of intense literary activity such as this; the work of revision and supplementing in all likelihood began soon after the groundwork was complete. Whether the Holiness Code and the priestly directions were among the first additions cannot be definitely determined. Aside from these larger and older codes, the additions to the groundwork represent simply the continuation of the process that had already produced the earlier groups of priestly laws. These supplemental priestly codes, however, have their own peculiarities in vocabulary and thought. They are intended to fill up the gaps in the older system of laws and to define more definitely the method of procedure. In this respect they are the immediate precursors of the oral law of later Judaism now found in the Mishna; for traditional precedents, such, for example, as the story of Zelophehad's daughters in Numbers 27^{1-11}, here figure prominently, and are none other than earlier types of the halachic midrashim that became so popular with the later scribes. The tendency to make the ritual more elaborate is strong. Thus, an altar of incense, not previously known, is introduced; and the formal act of anointing, hitherto reserved for the consecration of the high priest, is now extended to the ordinary priests; the formula of blood-sprinkling, also, becomes more elaborate, and a secondary passover is added. These supplemental laws increase in many ways the income of the temple and priests; the tithe of the ground, for example, is extended to the herd, and the poll-tax becomes one-half instead of one-third of a shekel.

Their contents

The supplemental laws bulk large in the Pentateuch; but such is their prolixity and their reiteration of older regulations that their importance is far from proportionate to their volume. They mark the beginning of that intellectual, spiritual and literary deterioration which is still more in evidence in the Mishna and Talmud. To these supplemental codes belong the detailed and repetitious account of the preparation of the dwelling or tabernacle in Exodus 35–40, the law of the sin-offering (Lev. 4), the consecration of Aaron and his sons (8), the fiftieth year of jubilee ($25^{8-17, 23, 25-55}$), vows and consecrated gifts (27), the order of the tribes (Nu. 2), the census of the adult males (4), the dedication of the altar (7), heterogeneous ceremonial laws (8 and 9), purification with the ashes of the red heifer (19), the law of inheritance illustrated by the case of Zelophehad's daughters (27^{1-11}), the calendar of sacred seasons (28, 29), regulations regarding vows made by men and women (30), the laws of war (31), and the marriage of an heiress (36). In addition to these independent regulations, almost all the important earlier priestly laws contain supplemental sections from the hands of the late priestly scribes, who sought thus to bring the older into harmony with the later institutions.

Their origin and date

Most of the supplemental priestly laws bear on their face the evidence of their late origin; but a few of them, those for example regarding vows, probably reflect comparatively early usage. Obviously it is difficult to fix the date of these laws, for they clearly represent the growth of many years. Possibly some of them had already found a place in the law-book accepted about 400 B.C. by the Jewish community in Palestine (Neh. 10). It is prob-

able, however, that the majority are later additions. The temple tax, for example, in the days of Ezra and Nehemiah was still one-third of a shekel (Neh. 10^{32}) and not one-half, as required by the supplemental law in Exodus $30^{11\text{-}16}$. And, as has already been noted, the date of the great day of atonement must have been fixed later, for there is no suggestion in Ezra or Nehemiah of its having been observed on the tenth day of the seventh month. The fact that in Nehemiah 10^{37} only the tithe of the ground is required, as in the earlier priestly codes, likewise indicates that the definite supplemental law in Leviticus $37^{30\text{-}33}$, which adds a tithe of the herd and of the flock, was not yet incorporated in the law of Moses. With most of these later regulations, however, the Chronicler was familiar. It is safe to say, therefore, that the priestly codes in their composite form were, with the possible exception of certain brief scribal additions, in existence and accepted as authoritative by the Jewish race at least as early as 250 B.C.

History of later Jewish law

As is well known, the influences which in divine providence produced the priestly codes did not cease to be felt when the canon of the law was closed. Old institutions continued to develop and new ones to come into existence. Hundreds of legal questions not anticipated by the Old Testament laws arose, and the final decisions in time came to have binding authority. In most cases traditional precedents associated with Moses were developed, usually as a product of scribal imagination, to lend support to that authority. For centuries these were treasured and augmented in the rabbinical schools. Lest they should supplant the written law of the Pentateuch, they were at first preserved only in oral form; but at length their bulk defied the power of human memory. The scattering of the Jews after the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 A.D., also endangered their preservation. Accordingly by 200 A.D. they were committed to writing. The Mishna, which records the majority of them, itself in time failed to answer all the questions that changed conditions and rabbinic imagination suggested: about it in turn there grew up during the succeeding centuries a vast body of comments and traditional decisions, ultimately gathered together about 600 A.D., in the great treasury of Jewish thought and literature, the Babylonian Talmud.

Place of the priestly codes in the history of Israelitish law

The priestly codes, in their final written form, stand at the middle point in a process of legal development that began in remote Semitic antiquity (cf. Frontispiece). For nearly two thousand years it can be traced in the life and literature of the Israelitish race. No one will maintain that the priestly codes represent the zenith of that development; it is rather to be found in the Deuteronomic and Holiness codes. In many ways the priestly laws represent a step backward to the more primitive stages when religion and religious duty were defined in the terms of the ceremonial.

Strong influence of common Semitic institutions

There are few institutions or rites in the priestly codes that were not in vogue among other Semitic peoples and especially the Babylonians. Both races had practically the same sacrificial terminology; the same kinds of vegetable and animal sacrifices were offered; victims a year old were preferred and they must be without blemish; arks, altars, temples, tables of showbread, and the paraphernalia of sacrifice were nearly identical. The distinctions between clean and unclean food, and the laws of ceremonial purity were shared

in common. In almost every law of the priestly codes the influence of the inheritances from Israel's primitive past and of the Babylonian religion with which the exiled priests came into closest contact, is clearly reflected. Hence it was inevitable that the clear prophetic vision of God should often be obscured by the priesthood and the ritual, that the individual should become only a member of the congregation, and that forms strikingly similar to those of the peoples about should take the place of that personal worship which the prophets so fervently upheld.

The real value and significance of the priestly codes

And yet it must be remembered that the priestly laws are not antithetic to the older prophetic legislation. Both continued to exist side by side until they were united by a priestly editor. The priestly lawgivers assumed the ethical and personal teachings of the early codes as the basis upon which they reared their ritual and hierarchy. They also appreciated the firm hold that the ancient ritual had upon the great body of their nation. Though its origin was in a sense heathen and its influence often debasing, they could not expel it if they would. Accordingly they devoted themselves to singling out those older laws and customs that were adapted to the new conditions, to eliminating the debasing elements in the prevailing religious rites, and to giving the ritual as a whole a nobler and more spiritual meaning. History records the success of their efforts. Through the period of greatest peril and trial they preserved their race and religion intact within the wall of separation which they reared high about them. And though without the heathen raged, within that sacred enclosure the faithful—as the Psalms abundantly attest —found inward peace and joy in the presence of the Eternal Father.

THE HISTORY OF THE SONGS, HYMNS AND PRAYERS

I

THE GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF HEBREW POETRY

The essential nature of poetry

Poetry may be defined as the imaginative and rhythmic expression of the insight, the feeling, and the creative thought of an inspired soul. In brief, it is thought and emotion set to the music of words. Its object is to awaken and direct the imagination and emotions of the hearer or reader so that he will also share the poet's own insight, feeling, and thought. As the fundamental meaning of the word implies, the poet is a maker, a creator, as well as an interpreter. There are four essential elements in all poetry: (1) inspiration, (2) imagination, (3) creative power, and (4) rhythm. Back of all poetry is some inspiring force that stirs the mind of the poet. It may be the beauty of nature, a striking national or personal experience, an illuminating idea, or a deep emotion. Underlying all these, faith recognizes the spirit of the Eternal who, in different ways, touches and imparts his truth to the responsive mind of the poet. The real poet must also possess the power of imagination, the ability to see clearly and concretely with his mental vision that which is not perceived by the ordinary man. Furthermore, he must be able, by the aid of his imagination, to describe his vision in appropriate words and figures and thus to present it clearly and concretely to the eyes of his fellow men. Finally, the prevailing conception of poetry demands that it shall be rhythmic in form. This essential characteristic may be expressed by the rhythm of regular metre, as in Greek poetry; by the rhythmic sound conveyed by the concluding words of each line, as in most English poetry; or by the rhythm of recurring thought. Above all, the rhythmic form must be in harmony with the thought or passion which inspires it.

Its early origin

The earliest examples of Babylonian and Egyptian literature are distinctly poetic in form. In ancient Greece the bards began to sing their songs centuries before the appearance of the philosophers and historians. Among the early Germans and English the art of poetic composition developed long before that of prose writing. The Hebrews were no exception to this rule. Scattered through the earliest prose writings of the Old Testament are older fragments of popular poems that were current at the beginnings of Israel's history or inherited from its Semitic past.

The reasons why men first expressed their thoughts in poetry are not difficult to discover. They are illustrated by the natural impulses of the child, which to-day faithfully reflect certain of the initial stages in the

The reasons why early man used poetry

development of the human race. With him imagination and rhythm, two of the chief characteristics of all poetry, are innate. To dance and skip is for him more natural than to walk. Poetry, with its rhythmic measure and strong appeal to the imagination, is remembered long after plain prose has been forgotten. Nature also tends to emphasize the rhythmic tendencies inherent in the human soul. The rise and fall of the waves, the rhythmic swaying of the trees, the changing phases of the sun and moon, the regularly recurring cycles of the seasons left their deep impression upon primitive man. In him that which was rhythmic found a quick response, even as does martial or rhythmic music in the modern child. The expression of thought or passion in literature was not easy for early peoples. It was only under the impelling influence of a strong, creative force that they overcame the inertia and clothed their ideas in words. It was natural and practically inevitable that the product of that creative force should be poetry. Thus the shepherd prophet Amos, under the influence of a clear vision of impending danger and of a powerful religious and patriotic emotion, voiced his warnings to the nobles of northern Israel in exalted poetic diction. The divine truth had taken possession of him and nothing less than poetry could express the conviction and message that burned within him.

General characteristics of Semitic poetry

The monuments of Babylonia and Egypt have shown that the general characteristics of Hebrew poetry were not peculiar to the Israelites but were shared in common with the Semitic nations that preceded them. The old Sumerian and Babylonian accounts of creation and the ancient hymns sung to the gods by the early inhabitants of the Tigris-Euphrates valley were characterized (1) by a measured beat recurring in succeeding lines and (2) by the rhythm of thought; that is, the second or succeeding lines repeating or else developing the thought of the first line. This same rhythm of measured beat and recurring thought is found in the earliest Egyptian hymns. In many of these poems each succeeding line had three accented syllables. More rarely the four-beat measure prevailed. From the middle of the nineteenth century B.C. comes a noble Egyptian hymn, addressed to Sesostris III, which not only illustrates these fundamental characteristics of Hebrew poetry but is also in the form of six strophes of ten lines each. In Egyptian poetry, however, as well as in the Babylonian, the strophic rhythm appears to have been occasional and exceptional rather than the general rule. The thought always dominated the form, and bold departures from the prevailing measured beat are not uncommon. The same is true of early Arabic poetry. While there are many recurring refrains, a regular strophic or metrical structure is exceptional. It was not until Greek culture began to exert a powerful influence upon Arabic and Syriac poetry that the regular metre with measured syllables first appeared in Semitic literature.

The rhythm of measured beat in Hebrew poetry

True to its Semitic inheritance, the fundamental characteristics of Hebrew poetry are the measured beat and the rhythm of thought or sentence. Under the influence of the Greek and Roman ideals of poetry, scholars have for centuries sought to find in the poetry of the Old Testament a metre dependent upon the quality and quantity of the syllables. A few of the

late psalms may conform to this standard, but otherwise the quest, as might be anticipated in the light of the Semitic inheritance, has been in vain. Apparently the Hebrew poet considered only the accented syllables. The genius of the Hebrew language gave him considerable liberty in this respect, for it enabled him to combine, as his needs required, certain short words so that they might be pronounced together with one accent. The music, which was a frequent, if not the constant accompaniment of early Hebrew poetry, likewise favored the measured accentuation of succeeding lines. It is probable that the poets in reciting their poems were allowed large freedom. Many of them, like the earlier Babylonian and Egyptian poets, frequently departed from their adopted measure, especially at the beginning and end of stanzas. In general the tendency was to begin with a longer and to close a stanza with a shorter line. Sometimes the Hebrew poets passed abruptly from one kind of measured beat to another. Thus a part of the charm of the peerless twenty-third Psalm is that it begins in the first stanza with the three-beat, passes in the second to the four-beat, and rises in the last stanza to the five-beat measure.

Use and significance of the different measures

The two-beat measure was used but rarely. Its staccato notes were well adapted to express the trumpet note of warning on the appearance of a foreign foe or for use in the popular songs that accompanied the rapid dance. By far the most common measure or metre (using the word in its broadest sense) adopted by the Hebrew poets was the three-beat. It was admirably adapted to the length of the ordinary brief, forceful sentence and enabled the poet to present his thoughts in rapid, effective sequence. The four-beat measure was used but rarely. It was employed by Amos in the vigorous argument which he introduced in the latter part of the third chapter of his prophecy and not infrequently by the psalmists with impressive force. Next to the three-beat the five-beat measure was used most frequently by Israel's poets. It was really a combination of the three-beat with the short two-beat measure. The latter, like a catch in the breath, suggested with rare effectiveness the deep emotion that filled the heart of the poet. In later days it was the characteristic measure employed in the lamentations uttered over the bier of the dead. Jeremiah's impassioned warnings and appeals to his erring countrymen are all expressed in this dramatic measure. It was also used, as by the second Isaiah and the authors of many of the psalms, to voice the profound emotions of praise and thanksgiving which breathe through these immortal poems. Very rarely, as in Psalm 127, the six-beat measure is found. Thus, not only by their words and thoughts and gestures, but by the poetic measures which they employed and by the cadence of succeeding sentences, Israel's poets were able to appeal to the trained instincts of their hearers and to convey their ideas with a remarkable completeness and emotional coloring. One of the chief charms of the Authorized Version is that its translators instinctively reproduced, to a great extent, the lilt of the Hebrew, although they printed all poetry as prose. In the present text an attempt has been made to reproduce, as far as is practicable in an exact translation, the measured cadence of the original Hebrew.

The rhythm of thought

A characteristic of Hebrew poetry, even more fundamental than the cadence of measured beat, was the rhythm of thought in succeeding lines. By its modern discoverer, Bishop Lowth, it was called parallelism, although the term is not entirely exact. To the Western ear repetition of thought is tautological, and tautology is displeasing; but to the Israelites the essence of poetry was the rhythm of idea. Unquestionably this fundamental characteristic of Hebrew added greatly to its clarity and effectiveness. If the thought was not fully expressed in the first line it could be brought out clearly in the second. This type of rhyme bound the different members of the verse close together and gave to Hebrew poetry its forceful, didactic quality. It was also far easier for the poet to conform to the canons imposed by the rhythm of thought than to the more mechanical demands of a formal metre or rhyme. Thus the Hebrew type of rhythm, instead of impeding, greatly facilitated the free and effective expression of the poet's thought.

Synonymous parallelism

Three primal types of parallelism or rhythm of thought may be distinguished. The first is the synonymous or repeating parallelism in which the second line repeats the thought of the first in slightly variant form. Sometimes it amounts to practical reiteration, as in Isaiah 15[1]:

> In a night Ar of Moab was devastated, ruined,
> In a night Kir of Moab was devastated, ruined.

More frequently the principal words in the second line are synonyms of the corresponding words in the first line, as, for example, in Psalm 51[7]:

> Purge me with hyssop, and I shall be clean,
> Wash me, and I shall be whiter than snow.

This synonymous or repeating parallelism is by far the most common type in lyric poetry. It lent itself naturally to the expression of emotion and the results of quiet meditation.

Antithetic parallelism

The second type was the antithetic or contrasting parallelism in which the second line presented a parallel and yet contrasting idea. This form was very rare in lyric poetry, but was frequently used by the wisdom writers, for dramatic contrast is a most valuable aid in impressing an important truth, especially upon the minds of the young. The following are examples of this type:

> A fool's anger is known at once,
> But a sensible man overlooks an insult. (Pr. 12[16].)
> Better the little that the righteous have
> Than the wealth of many wicked men. (Ps. 37[16].)

Synthetic parallelism

The third type was a synthetic or developing parallelism in which the thought of the first line is completed or expanded in the second or succeeding lines. This form was especially fitted to express developed thought and

complex emotion and was frequently employed by the gnomic as well as the lyric poets. Thus Proverbs 15^3 reads:

> The eyes of Jehovah are in every place,
> Keeping watch over the evil and the good.

Emblematic parallelism

Certain other less common types of parallelism are found. These are in reality more complex developments of the three primal types. One is emblematic parallelism, in which a common experience or truth is illustrated by a comparison usually drawn from nature:

> As cold water to a thirsty man,
> So are good news from a far country. (Pr. 25^{25}.)

In Psalm 37^1 the first two lines are in a synonymous parallelism, the third and fourth illustrate the emblematic type, while the second of two couplets stands in synthetic relation to the first:

> Fret not thyself because of evil-doers,
> Nor be envious of those who do wrong,
> For as grass they will quickly wither,
> And like the green herb fade away.

Stair-like parallelism

Another type is the stair-like or chain-like parallelism in which a word or thought in one line is taken up and expanded in each succeeding line. It is in reality a developed form of the synthetic parallelism. Thus, Psalm $24^{3b, c}$ reads:

> Who is the King of glory?
> Jehovah strong and mighty,
> Jehovah mighty in battle.

And Psalm $3^{1, 2}$:

> O Jehovah, how many are my foes!
> Many are rising up against me;
> Of me many are saying:
> 'For him there is no help.'

Introverted parallelism

A third type is the introverted or enveloped parallelism in which the first and last lines are closely parallel to each other and the intervening lines expand the thought of the first. This type is, therefore, a combination of the synonymous and synthetic parallelism. A good illustration is found in Psalm 30^{8-10}:

> To thee, O Jehovah, I call and make supplication;
> What profit is there in my blood when I go down to the pit?
> Can the dust give thee praise, make known thy faithfulness?
> Oh hear and be gracious, become to me a helper.

Strophes and refrains

A third type of rhythm frequently employed with great effectiveness by the Hebrew poets may be designated as the strophic, in which each succeeding stanza of a poem repeated in different form or else expanded the thought of the preceding stanzas. Clear examples of this type of rhythm are found in Amos 4^{6-11}, where each stanza of four lines repeats the same note of warning and ends with the powerful refrain:

> Yet ye have not returned to me, is the oracle of Jehovah.

In Isaiah 9^{8}–10^{4}, with its original conclusion, now incorporated in $5^{26-29,\ 25e,\ f}$, is found a powerful poem describing Jehovah's successive judgments upon lawless Israel. It consists of five strophes, each containing fourteen lines and ending in the dramatic words:

> For all this his anger is not turned away,
> And his hand is outstretched still.

Similarly, Psalms 42 and 43 originally constituted one poem of three stanzas, each with the concluding formula (found in $42^{5,\ 11}$, 43^{5}):

> Why art thou cast down, O my soul,
> And why art thou disquieted within me?
> Hope thou in God, for I shall yet praise him,
> Who is the help of my countenance and my guide.

Rhythm of strophe

The strophic arrangement of the verses was exceedingly common, especially in the later poetry. Frequently it has been obscured by the additions of later scribes. It was not, however, a universal characteristic of Hebrew poetry, and the attempt of certain modern scholars to restore all Hebrew poetry to this strophic form is both misleading and disastrous, for to carry through this theory they are often forced to delete many words and sentences which are clearly original and to disregard the logical connection of the thought and the literary unity of the whole. The Hebrew poets, as a rule, refused to be bound by the bonds of an exact strophic structure. To them the clear, forceful expression of their message was far more important than its external form. Although the thought of the earlier Hebrew poets is rarely confined to the narrow limitations of a strophic structure, there is usually a rhythmic parallelism which binds together the succeeding stanzas and greatly increases the clarity and effectiveness of their poems.

Occasional characteristics

The ordinary rhyme employed in modern English and German poetry, which is the recurrence of the same sound at the end of succeeding lines, was not a fundamental but only an occasional characteristic of Hebrew poetry. The clearest illustrations are found in the snatches of popular song preserved in the book of Judges. The riddle propounded by Samson at his bridal feast is a rhyme which has been felicitously translated by Professor Moore:

> Out of the eater came something to eat,
> And out of the strong came something sweet.

Samson's reply to the Philistines, when they had found out through his wife the answer to his riddle, ends in the two Hebrew words *eglathî* and *hidathî*, and may be rendered:

> If with my heifer you did not plow,
> You had not solved my riddle, now!

The song, which is attributed to Samson's foes, also contains four rhyming words in three succeeding lines that may be rendered:

> Our god has brought low,—
> Under our sway, our foe,
> Him who wrought our country's woe,
> Who slew many of us at a blow.

The closing words of Psalm 6 and of Job $10^{9\text{-}18}$ also rhyme; but outside of these few examples this external characteristic is found very rarely in Hebrew poetry. It was apparently confined to the popular songs and was regarded as undesirable by Israel's great poets.

Assonance and paronomasia

More common in the prophets is assonance or paronomasia. Isaiah makes an effective play on the similar sounds of the two Hebrew words *mishpāt* and *mispāh* and *çedākā* and *çᵉ̆ʿākā*, which may be rendered:

> He looked for justice, but beheld injustice,
> For redress, but beheld a cry of distress. (Is. 5^{7}.)

Amos also, in the vision recorded in $8^{1,\ 2}$, plays upon the meaning of similarly sounding words (*kăyiç* and *kēç*), the one meaning *summer fruit* and the other *end*. More common in the later poetry, but more artificial, was the acrostic. Thus, for example, in Nahum 1, in the first four chapters of Lamentations, and in many psalms, as, for example, Psalm 119, each succeeding line or group of lines begins with a succeeding letter of the Hebrew alphabet.

Literary characteristics of Hebrew poetry

To the modern Western reader the charm of Hebrew poetry is found not in its external form but in its innate literary characteristics. As a rule, it is highly subjective in content but objective and concrete in its form of expression. The inner feelings of the poet are vividly pictured by means of illustrations drawn from the realm of nature or from common physical experiences. The picturesque Hebrew language, in which each word suggests a familiar picture or feeling or action, lent itself readily to the poet's use. The lack of abstract terms also compelled him to express himself concretely. Expressing his emotions in the terms of physical sensations, the Hebrew poet with true psychological skill was able to arouse the same emotions in the minds of his hearers. These sensations were also elemental and therefore limited to no race or age. The result is that to-day, in reading the psalms, we not only grasp the thought of the psalmist but also feel with him the fear or the passion or the joy that stirred his soul as he wrote.

Hebrew poetry is also characterized by its spontaneity and earnestness. The Semitic mind is naturally intense, and the painful experiences through which the Israelites passed emphasized this characteristic. The attention of the reader is quickly attracted and constantly held by the sheer power of the poet's earnestness. Frequent changes in speaker and point of view impart to Hebrew poetry a strong dramatic quality. At the same time it is vivid and graphic. The Hebrew poets are keenly alive to the importance of variety and contrast. They are always simple but rarely if ever descend to the trite and commonplace. The clearness of their thought is not impeded by cumbersome phrases or unfamiliar illustrations. As a rule, their style is sententious. Instead of piling clause upon clause, they prefer the simple couplet. In this respect their style resembles that of the Semitic story-tellers, who constantly depend upon the simple connective *and* rather than upon the more elaborate conjunctions. Above all, the Hebrew poets confine themselves largely to themes of common human interest. They dramatically portray, in language simple, vivid, and concrete, the vital experiences shared by all mankind. Above all, they are inspired by a noble yet practical moral purpose that enables them to satisfy elemental needs. It is not strange that Hebrew poetry has attracted and held the attention of all classes as no other literature known to man.

II

THE DIFFERENT TYPES OF HEBREW POETRY

Reasons why the Hebrews were a race of poets

It is significant that more than half of the literature that has come down from the early Hebrews is poetry. There are many reasons why their greatest writers were poets. To the Greeks the world of nature was not attractive, and there are comparatively few allusions to it in the literature of that race. The Hebrews, however, were in closest touch with nature, and the picturesque, varied land of Palestine spoke inspiringly to its early inhabitants. Above all, the Hebrews saw in nature the external manifestations of Jehovah's character. The fructifying rains, the destructive storms, the droughts, the locust plagues, in fact, all the striking phenomena of their widely diversified land, were believed by the Hebrews to come directly from Jehovah. Nearly every hilltop was crowned by a sanctuary where the early inhabitants worshipped the God of the mountains and the hills. The trees were the symbol of his life-giving power and of his everlasting care. Each gushing spring testified to his gracious provision for the needs of his creatures. All nature spoke to them of God and hence inspired them with emotions of reverence and trust and gratitude.

Prominence of the religious element

The ancestors of the Hebrews came from the stern life of the desert, which developed a constant sense of dependence and intense loyalty to the God of the tribe and nation. Hence they and their descendants were by nature and training deeply religious. And religion (in its larger meaning) is the most powerful force that can stir the heart of the poet. The perilous, warlike life of the Hebrews in Palestine also constantly fostered and further developed their sense of constant dependence upon Jehovah and the habit of attributing every event in their history to his direct intervention. The tragic, harrowing experiences that came to them during the later centuries aroused within them the deepest emotions of which man is capable, and thus inspired and practically compelled them to express their thoughts and feelings in poetry. The liturgical demands of the later ritual also led the faithful Jews who gathered about the second temple to voice their experiences in the psalms which are found in the Psalter. Thus, throughout all of Israel's history, most of the forces which produce poetry were actively at work.

The different periods in the history of Hebrew poetry

Three fairly well-defined periods may be distinguished in the development of classic Hebrew poetry. The first is the age of popular songs. It begins with the entrance of the Hebrews into Canaan, about 1150, and extends to the period of Amos, about 750 B.C. The second is the prophetic period, which begins with Amos in 750 and ends with the work of the second Isaiah, about 450 B.C. The third is the age of devotional and wisdom

poetry. It begins about 450, to which date may be assigned the main poetical sections of the books of Job, and extends to about 50 B.C., when the apocryphal book known as the Wisdom of Solomon was probably written. The poetical books of the Old Testament, therefore, represent a period of at least eleven centuries. They are clearly the work of scores of different writers. Certain of the songs found in Genesis and Numbers, as, for example, the so-called Song of Lamech in Genesis 4 and the Song of the Well in Numbers 21[17-18], come in all probability from the early nomadic period preceding the entrance of the Israelites into Canaan.

Early folk-songs

The few folk-songs and early poems that have been preserved in the historical books of the Old Testament suffice to suggest the character of this once extensive poetic literature. Evidently all the important events in the early life of the Hebrews were celebrated with songs and music. Although the Song of Songs itself is late, it has preserved a group of popular poems that were apparently sung in connection with the wedding festivals. They are in many ways the best representatives of the popular poetry of ancient Israel. Similarly, songs were sung in connection with national calamities and beside the bier of the dead. Many of these dirges have been preserved. Amos 6[3] also contains a reference to the songs that were sung in connection with the banquets given by the voluptuous nobles of northern Israel. The Song of the Well in Numbers 21 is evidently a type of the popular songs that were composed by the local poets on the occasion of any important event in the life of a tribe or the nation. Isaiah 14[4] and 23[16] contain examples of the taunt songs that were sung over a fallen enemy or to cast disgrace upon a private or public foe. Great deliverances like that of the exodus, or victories like that of the Hebrews beside the Kishon, inspired the poets to sing of the achievements of their heroes. These songs appear to have been chanted by the women, as in the days of David, when the victorious warriors returned from battle laden with spoils. Scattered through the historical books there are also many priestly oracles, such as that attributed to Jacob in Genesis 49, and public prayers, like that of Solomon at the dedication of the temple, now found in the Greek versions of I Kings 8[12, 13]. Their original poetic form is still retained and they all testify to the prominent place that poetry held in the early life of the Israelites.

Ancient bards and song-books

Numbers 21[27] and II Samuel 19[35] contain references to a class of bards or singers who doubtless composed many of these songs and preserved in oral form those which had been handed down from preceding generations. They correspond to the similar class of singers who are still found among the Arabs of the desert and who recite beside the camp-fires the songs that tell of the adventures of the tribe and the achievements of its popular heroes. In I Samuel 25[28] there is a reference to the *Book of the Wars of Jehovah* which is evidently a collection of songs recording the victories won by the Israelites in the name of Jehovah. A similar collection of ancient songs, which has unfortunately been lost, was the *Book of Jasher;* that is, *The Book of the Upright.* Jasher is evidently a popular designation of the nation, Israel. The quotations (*e. g.*, Josh. 10[13b], II Sam. 1[18], I Kgs. 8[53], Gk.) indicate that these poems dealt with important events in Israel's history, such as David's

lament over the death of Saul and Jonathan or Solomon's prayer at the dedication of the temple. These references and quotations also suggest the wide variety and extent of the popular Hebrew poetry, most of which has, unfortunately, been forever lost.

The prophetic period of Hebrew poetry

The character and content of the prophetic poetry which comes from the second period of Israel's literary history have already been discussed in Volume III. The poetic addresses of the prophets were the natural outgrowth of the early oracles which appear to have been invariably cast in poetic form. In presenting their messages the prophets used almost every type of poetry known to the Hebrew. With the exception of portions of Ezekiel, Haggai, and Zechariah, their original oral prophecies were always put in the form of poetry. By them the lyrical note, which was struck by the earlier prophets, was still further developed and the foundations laid for that still wider development of lyrical poetry which characterized the third period of Israel's literary history. Doubtless, during the same prophetic period many of the proverbs and some of the psalms, which have ultimately found a place in the book of Proverbs and the Psalter, were current on the lips of the people. It was this second prophetic period of Israel's history that gave to the race the ideas and the impulses which found expression in the retrospective and didactic literature of the third period.

The poetry of the third period

During the third period Israel's poetry assumed two distinct forms. The lyrical group is represented by the Psalter, the occasional psalms in the first book of Maccabees, in the concluding chapters of Ben Sira, and in the Psalter of Solomon. This group reflects the experiences, the emotions, and the aspirations of the Jewish race and of the different classes within Judaism. The other group includes the gnomic or wisdom literature found in Proverbs, portions of Ecclesiastes, Ben Sira, the Wisdom of Solomon, and in the crowning work of the Hebrew sages—the book of Job. It is the result of the earnest desire of Israel's latest teachers to make practical and effective in the life of their own and succeeding generations that which was best in the moral and religious experiences of the past and most vital in the teachings of earlier priests and prophets.

The drama and the epic

The drama was not a product of the Semitic mind. Thus far no drama has been found in the literatures of ancient Babylonia and Egypt. The Hebrew prophets, in their poetic addresses, frequently employed dialogue. Ezekiel reveals great dramatic qualities, and one of the chief charms of Hebrew literature is its dramatic character; but the Israelites produced no pure drama. The book of Job is the nearest approximation to it, yet its action and progress are subjective rather than objective. Furthermore, the Old Testament contains no clear example of an epic. The song of Deborah has many epic qualities, but it is more than mere poetic presentation, for through it all runs a large lyric element. Its brevity also forbids its classification as a pure epic, for less than twenty verses are devoted to heroic narration. The epic, however, was not foreign to the Semitic mind. One of the earliest and noblest examples of early Babylonian literature is the so-called epic of Gilgamesh, which in a series of twelve cantos tells of the various deeds of the traditional hero Gilgamesh, who was the prototype of

the Greek Hercules. The marked epic character of Israel's early narratives, the frequent references to older poetic sources, and the fact that the prose narrators at many points quote from early poetic sources favor, although they do not absolutely prove, that the Hebrews once possessed a great epic which described in connected form the earlier events in their national history and the deeds of their great heroes. Fortunately, we possess the prose (which may have been the original and only) version of that national epic.

Reasons why the lyric overshadowed all other types of Hebrew poetry

The most characteristic product of Hebrew poetic genius is the lyric. This type of poetry was originally intended to be sung to the accompaniment of a musical instrument, and expresses the individual emotions of the poet or of those for whom he speaks. Like most Semitic poetry, it is highly subjective, although its figures are often exceedingly concrete. The dominance of the lyric note in Hebrew literature is due to a variety of causes. It was primarily owing to the peculiar genius of the race. The Hebrews were pre-eminently individualists. The personal and racial points of view are prominent in all of their early writings. The extremely simple structure of the Hebrew language also favors the lyric rather than the more complex forms of poetry. Furthermore, as has been noted, the chief motive in their life was religion, and the lyric is the most natural expression of religious feeling. The great crises through which the Hebrews passed and the many painful experiences which came to them aroused the deepest personal emotions and intensified their tendency to develop the lyric.

While this type of poetry is distinctly individualistic, there is also a strong universalistic note running through the lyric poetry of the Old Testament. It is, in part, because the experiences of Israel's poets were common to the human race. In the psalms many chords are struck which find a quick response in the heart of man in every age and race. The result is that in much of the lyric poetry of the Old Testament there is a timeless quality which expresses the universal experiences and emotions of humanity.

The grouping of the Hebrew lyrics

The lyric poetry of the Old Testament represents the work of many different poets who wrote under the impulse of a great variety of emotions and in widely separated periods in Israel's history. The oldest as well as the latest poems in the Old Testament are lyrics. In their present form they are either scattered through the historical books or else massed together in the Psalter without any definite system of arrangement. In order to utilize them for reading, study, or even devotional purposes, it is important that they be classified. The primary need is to group together those poems which are written from the same point of view and with kindred aims. The first canon of classification, therefore, is that of authorship. Each of the three great groups of Israel's teachers, the prophets, the priests, and the sages, contributed certain of the lyric poems now found in the Psalter. Most of the lyric poems fall under one of the three heads, prophetic, priestly, or didactic. A still more fundamental canon in the classification of lyric poetry is the dominant emotion, whether it be that of exultation or aspiration, as in certain of the early tribal songs; or of sadness, as in the dirges found in the book of Lamentations; or of thanksgiving, of praise, of

adoration, of penitence, or of worship, as in the different psalms of the Psalter. A few psalms reflect a wide variety of emotions, but the great majority may be readily classified in accordance with this canon.

The trend from the national to the individual point of view

Before the exile the chief note in Israel's life was either the pride or aspiration of the tribe or nation. After the exile the Jews for four centuries turned from their narrow national ambitions and from trust in their own resources to Jehovah as their one source of joy, glory, and deliverance. As the nation went down in ruin the individual for the first time emerged into prominence. The result is that the personal note becomes ever clearer in the poetry that comes from the four centuries beginning with the Babylonian exile. Adoration, praise, and thanksgiving, expressive of triumph not of the sword but of faith, or else the note of penitence and fervent petition, filled the hearts and found expression through the lips and pens of the faithful who worshipped at the second temple. This unmistakable trend from the national to the individual point of view suggests the canon to be followed in determining the order of the larger groups of poems. Within each group it is also important to arrange the poems, as far as possible, in their chronological order, thus furnishing a basis for an historical study of the different phases in the development of Israel's faith.

The triumphal odes

The oldest group of Hebrew lyrics are the folk or national songs. These fall naturally into four general divisions: (1) triumphal odes, (2) traditional oracles, (3) dirges, and (4) love and wedding songs. The triumphal odes were sometimes sung by the warriors but in early Israel more commonly by the women after a great deliverance, like that of the exodus, or a great victory, as that over the Canaanites beside the Kishon. They preserved in this popular, poetic form the memory of the great events and achievements in Israel's history and, therefore, have found a place among Israel's historical records. Out of these triumphal odes there developed, under the changed conditions which resulted from the Babylonian exile, the imprecatory psalms in which the inherited hatred and the burning sense of injustice with which the Jews regarded their heathen persecutors found fervent and often to us repulsive expression. Out of the older triumphal odes also developed the hymns of praise, thanksgiving, and adoration addressed to Jehovah by his afflicted yet trusting people. A third group included the majestic psalms describing Jehovah's leadership of his people in the past and the way in which he had delivered them from their foes. Through many of these runs the spirit of the old triumphal odes, even though the victories which they commemorate took place centuries before.

The traditional oracles

Another early form of Hebrew lyric poetry may be designated as the traditional oracle. In these poems the experiences and aspirations of later generations were put in the mouths of the early fathers and leaders of the race, such as Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and Moses. These memories and hopes were cast in the characteristic poetic form of the ancient prophetic oracles. Many such traditional oracles are incorporated in the historical books. Most of them are older than their prose setting. Out of these grew in later times the great oral prophecies of the pre-exilic period and the psalms which embody the messianic hopes of the exilic and post-exilic periods. The

Jewish apocalypses, as, for example, those in the second part of the book of Daniel, are still later modifications and expansions (but in prose form) of the earlier oracles.

The dirge

The third primitive type of lyric poetry is the dirge. Public lamentations for the dead may be traced back to the beginnings of Semitic history. In the days of the ancient Sumerian king Gudea professional mourners were employed to sing songs of lament over the bier of the dead. They were probably connected with the temples. One class was known as the wailers, another as the howlers. They included both men and women. These lamentations were usually accompanied by music. The plaintive music of the harp and flute was best suited to the spirit of these dirges. The song of lament and the praise of the departed were voiced by the leader, while the chorus joined in the refrain. In the famous old Babylonian epic the hero Gilgamesh laments over his dead friend Eabani:

> Thou takest no part in the noble feast,
> To the assembly they call thee not.
> Thou liftest not the bow from the ground;
> What is hit by the bow is not for thee;
> Thy hand grasps not the club nor strikes the prey,
> Nor stretches thy foemen dead on the earth.
> The wife thou lovest thou kissest not,
> The wife thou hatest thou strikest not.
> The child thou lovest thou kissest not,
> The child thou hatest thou strikest not.
> The might of the earth has swallowed thee.
> O Darkness, Darkness, Mother Darkness!
> Thou enfoldest him like a mantle,
> Like a deep well thou enclosest him!

The Hebrew mourning customs

The Hebrew mourning customs apparently preserved those which had been followed for thousands of years in the ancient Semitic world and still prevail in the lands of the East. The relatives of the deceased, and especially the hired mourners, were clad in sackcloth made from the hair of goats or camels (II Sam. 21^{10}, Is. 15^{3}). With dishevelled locks, with bare feet and legs, often cutting their hair and mutilating their features, they threw themselves down beside the dead or else sat on the ground casting dust upon their heads (II Sam. 15^{30}, Is. 3^{26}, Jer. 16^{6}). Among these Hebrews the majority of these hired mourners were women, although male mourners are mentioned (Jer. 9^{17}, II Chr. 35^{25}). Ordinarily, the mourners fasted during the daytime (I Sam. 31^{13}, II Sam. 3^{35}). At sunset the funeral feast was held. The wild shrieks and weird cries uttered by the hired mourners in the East to-day make vivid the scenes about the graves of the dead in ancient Israel.

Their psychological basis

In the old Babylonian epic the laments of Gilgamesh secured immortality for his friend Eabani; but this does not appear to have been the original psychological basis of the death dirge. Not until the later Jewish period

did the belief in individual immortality gain acceptance even among the Israelites. It is more probable that in earliest days the cries of the mourners were intended to placate or keep away the spirits of the dead. This reason well explains the cutting of the beard and the mutilating of the body. The heathen origin of these rites explains why they were prohibited by the later Jewish law (Lev. $19^{27, 28}$). It is possible, however, that, as among many peoples to-day, the belief prevailed that the spirit of the dead lingered for a time near the body of the deceased and that offerings presented to it and songs sung in his honor gave joy to the departed. In modern Palestine the tombs of Moslem saints are often covered with gifts presented by their descendants or by the natives who venerate the sacred spot. In the biblical laments that have been preserved the chief motive seems to be to commemorate the achievements of the fallen hero or to express the sorrow of the friends who survive. The emotional Oriental undoubtedly finds great relief and a certain melancholy pleasure in these dramatic expressions of his grief.

The two kinds of dirges

Two kinds of dirges are found in the Old Testament. In the one an individual hero is the object of the poet's grief; in the other a city or nation. The oldest and in many ways the noblest example of the Hebrew lament is the dirge which David sang over Saul and Jonathan. It opens with a stanza in the quick, two-beat measure which gradually rises to the three and four beat and describes the greatness of the calamity that had befallen Israel. The royal poet David then goes on to describe the bravery, attractiveness, and achievements of the fallen heroes. Through it all runs the recurring refrain:

How have the mighty fallen!

The dirge which David sang over Abner represents even more closely the popular lament which the hired mourners crooned over the body of the dead. In Jeremiah 22^{10} the prophet laments in the same way over the exiled Jehoiahaz, whose fate he likens to that of the dead. The late tradition in II Chronicles 34^{25} states that Jeremiah lamented for Josiah and that all the singing men and singing women to this day speak of Josiah in their dirges. In Ezekiel $32^{2\text{-}10}$ this priest-prophet of the exile sings a dirge, which is in reality a taunt song, over the Egyptian Pharaoh. The earliest example of the lament over the nation is the dramatic dirge sung by Amos over northern Israel whose coming downfall he thus vividly portrayed (Am. $5^{1, 2}$). Jeremiah, in the same spirit, puts a dirge in the mouth of the singing women of Judah (Jer. $9^{17\text{-}22}$). Later, in $12^{7\text{-}12}$, he laments over the approaching fate of sinful Judah. The prophetic books contain many taunt songs in the form of dirges addressed by the prophet to Israel's hostile foes. Of these the stirring poem in Isaiah $14^{4\text{-}20}$, describing the fall of Babylon, Ezekiel's picturesque dirges over the fall of Tyre in chapters 26–28, and the taunt songs over the Philistines, Moabites, Amonites, Edomites, Damascens, the Arabians and even the distant Elamites in Jeremiah 47–49, are the most important. To this group belong the five songs of lamentation now preserved in the book of Lamentations, which represent the culmination of this strong elegiac tendency in Israel's thought and literature.

III

THE STRUCTURE AND AUTHORSHIP OF THE BOOK OF LAMENTATIONS

Aim

THE book of Lamentations is the most conventional and stereotyped of all the Old Testament writings. Four of its five chapters consist of acrostics in which each succeeding verse or group of verses begins with a succeeding letter of the Hebrew alphabet. Even though the fifth chapter is not an acrostic, it has twenty-two verses corresponding to the number of letters in the Hebrew alphabet. In the first and second chapters each verse contains three lines, in the fourth a couplet of but two lines. These rigid limitations in structure necessarily impede the free development of the thought. While these dirges lack the freedom and spontaneity of many other Hebrew poems they are not deficient in strong emotion and contain a remarkably vivid portrayal of the incidents and experiences connected with the destruction of Jerusalem. The poet's reason for employing the acrostic structure was evidently to aid the memory. His motive in writing was liturgical, that is, to furnish hymns that might be readily remembered and chanted, probably in connection with the fasts which were observed in commemoration of the destruction of Jerusalem and of the temple. In the seventh chapter of Zechariah the prophet refers to such fasts which in his day had already been observed for seventy years, beginning with the destruction of the temple in 586 B.C. In form and content these poems were well adapted to this liturgical use. They kept alive in vivid form the memories of Israel's tragic experience. They aimed to impress upon the minds of the people the lessons taught by their past, "lest they forget." They also aimed to interpret the meaning of those experiences and to justify Jehovah's rigorous dealing with his people, and thus to arouse in the heart of the nation faith and adoration even in the presence of overwhelming calamity. To the historian they are of inestimable value, for they reveal the soul of the race and give contemporary pictures of conditions in Jerusalem in the days preceding and following its overthrow regarding which Israel's historians are almost silent.

Authorship

The position of the book of Lamentations in the English Bible is due to the influence of a tradition preserved in the superscription to the Greek text of Lamentations: *And it came to pass after Israel had been led captive and Jerusalem laid desolate that Jeremiah sat down weeping and lifted up this lament over Jerusalem.* The tradition that Jeremiah was the author of Lamentations may be traced back to the Greek period in the statement of

the Chronicler (II Chr. 35^{25}): *And Jeremiah sang a song of lamentation for Josiah, and all the singing men and women speak of Josiah in their lamentations to this day. And they made them a custom in Israel, and now they are written in Lamentations.* The tradition that Jeremiah was the author of the book of Lamentations was probably suggested by the fact that of all the great Hebrew prophets Jeremiah alone was present to witness the closing scene in Judah's death agony. He also, more frequently than any other prophet, interspersed his prophecies with dirges. His favorite metre was the five-beat, which, since the days of Amos, had been the customary lamentation metre. Many of the expressions and ideas in Lamentations are peculiar to Jeremiah, indicating that, if he did not write these poems, he at least exerted a strong influence upon the thought of those who composed them, so that there is a real underlying basis for the tradition.

The evidence that Jeremiah was not the author of Lamentations is, however, cumulative and on the whole conclusive. It is almost inconceivable that one who so frequently disregarded the rules of Hebrew metre would allow himself to be bound by the artificial limitations of the acrostic. Many of the teachings in Lamentations are also contrary to those of Jeremiah, as, for example, the explanation of the calamities which overtook his nation (cf. 5^{7}) or the estimate of Judah's last king, Zedekiah. (Cf., *e. g.*, 2^{9}, $4^{17, 18, 20}$.) They reflect rather the popular attitude toward the great catastrophe. Many of the characteristic phrases of Ezekiel are woven into these dirges, indicating that their authors were acquainted with the priest-prophet of the exile. Certain of the poems also reflect later situations and points of view. The variations in the order of the letters in the Hebrew alphabet and in the literary style and excellence of the different chapters point clearly to at least two or three different authors.

Date of chapters 2 and 4

Chapters 2 and 4 are the oldest poems in the book and probably come from the same author. Each reveals an intimate familiarity with the tragic events attending the final destruction of the city and temple. The emotions of the author are so strong that they overcome the regular limitations of the acrostic structure. They reflect the feeling of astonishment and stupefaction with which the survivors regarded the great catastrophe. The insane hunger of the women, the helpless misery of the children, the shameless indignities heaped upon the rulers of Judah are portrayed with remarkable vividness and fidelity. The influence of Ezekiel may also be clearly recognized in these chapters. (Cf. 2^{14} and Ezek. 22^{28}.) The downfall of the state is attributed to the misleading teachings of the mercenary priests and prophets. The same unusual order of letters of the Hebrew alphabet is followed in both poems, while in 1 that which became the later order is followed. These poems were probably written in Judah some time between the destruction of Jerusalem in 586 and the liberation of Jehoiachin in 561 B.C., by one who was intimately acquainted with Zedekiah's fatal policy (2^{17}), and was also a devoted supporter of the ill-fated king (4^{20}). They are, therefore, the best contemporary records that we have regarding the experiences and feelings of the Jews in the opening decades of the Babylonian exile.

Date of chapter 1

The poem in chapter 1 is an acrostic in which each succeeding letter of the alphabet is followed by three lines. It has the usual order of the Hebrew alphabet. It vividly pictures the woes following the destruction of Jerusalem. While the feeling and language are less spontaneous than in 2 and 4, it is full of genuine pathos. It strikes many notes which run through the psalms. Jerusalem, however, is no longer entirely without inhabitants, as was probably the case in the days immediately following its destruction by the Chaldeans. The day of Jerusalem's great calamity is already a memory of the past (7) and the description of that event lacks the vividness of chapters 2 and 4. The pitiable lot of those who had come back to live on its ruined site is prominent in the mind of the poet. The taunting, malicious attitude of neighboring peoples is clearly reflected. The culmination of the poem is a fervent petition that Jehovah will speedily take vengeance upon these malignant foes. There is no suggestion that Cyrus had as yet conquered Babylon and granted to the Jews the privilege of rebuilding their sanctuary. The poem, therefore, comes in all probability from a Palestinian poet who wrote during the latter part of the Babylonian period, between 560 and 540 B.C.

Of chapter 5

Chapter 5, like 1, presents a vivid picture of the conditions in the Jewish community during the years following the destruction of Jerusalem. The memories of that event, however, are vague. It was in the days of their fathers that the nation paid the first great penalty for its guilt. For *these many years* (20) Jehovah has apparently forgotten and forsaken his people. The basis of the petition with which the poem concludes is that after these many years the nation has atoned for its guilt and the time has come when Jehovah should pardon and restore. In contrast with 2 and 4 the sense of national guilt is much more prominent, but there is no protestation of innocence, as in the book of Job and in the psalms which come from the middle of the Persian period. There is also no suggestion that the temple has been rebuilt or that the heavy Chaldean yoke has been removed. It is evident, therefore, that this chapter comes from about the same period as 1, that is, the latter half of the Babylonian or early in the Persian period.

Of chapter 3

Chapter 3 differs widely from the other poems in the book of Lamentations. In thought and language it is closely connected with Zechariah, Job, II Isaiah, and many of the psalms. It lacks the spontaneous feeling and vigorous literary style of the other dirges in the book of Lamentations. Its spirit and language are those of the later psalm literature. The first part of the poem is a meditation on Israel's painful experiences in the past. The strong didactic element connects it with the reflective psalms and the work of Israel's wise men which culminated in the Greek period. The tone of this poem is deeply religious. The love and mercy of God are pictured with remarkable effectiveness and appreciation. The poem is apparently made up of fragments of psalms which have been adjusted to the acrostic structure and brought into a loose literary unity. Its dependence upon the later writings of the Old Testament is so great, and it is so far removed from the problems of the Babylonian period, that it is difficult to assign it to a date earlier than the last half of the Persian or the first part of the Greek period.

The author of chapter 3, who may have been the final editor of the book of Lamentations, evidently modelled his work after chapters 2 and 4. He has not only adopted the unusual order of the Hebrew alphabet found in these chapters but also introduced his poem between these two earlier laments. Chapter 1 was probably given its position at the beginning of the book because of its vivid description of the desolation of Jerusalem. It also furnished a fitting introduction to the book as a whole. Chapter 5 was placed at the end because even a casual reader would at once recognize that it reflected conditions a generation or two after the great catastrophe of 586 B.C. It is thus possible to trace with reasonable assurance the growth and history of the little book of Lamentations, which, though one of the shortest books of the Old Testament, represents the work of at least three different authors and reflects the thought of as many centuries. Like many of the psalms, it reflects the unassuaged sorrow but invincible faith and hope in the heart of the Jewish race. Neglected by most modern readers in the Western world, it is the book which voices the woes of the orthodox Jews, who still regard themselves as exiles without a country.

IV

THE ORIGIN AND INTERPRETATION OF THE SONG OF SONGS

The history of the Song of Songs

THE Song of Songs, or, as it is known in late tradition, the Song of Solomon, is one of the latest books to be included in the canon of the Old Testament. Not only is it found in the third and latest collection of writings, but its position was questioned by the famous rabbi Aquiba as late as the first half of the second Christian century. Josephus's statement (*Contra Apion* 1[8]) that twenty-two books were included in the sacred scriptures of his race suggests that by the last quarter of the first Christian century the Song of Songs had already been included by common consent in the canon; but there is a significant absence of any reference to the book in the Jewish and Christian writings preceding this period. Certain references in the Mishna imply that there were some rabbis who still maintained the natural interpretation of the Song of Songs; but it was probably in the end given a place in the canon because of its allegorical interpretation and because it was associated with the name of Solomon.

Its allegorical interpretation

Under the influence of the allegorizing tendencies current in contemporary Greek thought the Jews of Palestine as well as of the dispersion, during the centuries immediately preceding and following the beginning of the Christian era, were inclined more and more to read into the earlier scriptures deeper spiritual meanings. To this tendency the Song of Songs, with its fervid Oriental figures and its passionate feeling, readily lent itself. The result was that the ingenuity of the Jewish scribes found in it an elaborate allegorical history of the relations between Jehovah and his people from the days of the exodus to the dawn of the messianic era. Following the example of the Jewish scribes, the early Christian Fathers devoted much attention to the allegorical interpretation of the Song of Songs. Identifying Christ with the bridegroom, they regarded the bride as the representative either of the Church or else of the soul of the Christian. Huge volumes were written by such scholars as Origen, developing this allegorical interpretation. They remain as monuments to the absurd extreme to which this method leads its followers. In later generations it became a favorite occupation of different commentators to find in it new allegorical meanings. Fully a score of these different allegorical theories have been propounded, each differing from and confounding all others. The blasphemous absurdities of some of these allegorical interpretations to-day need no refutation.

Even during the period when the allegorical method of interpretation

was regnant, saner scholars were found to raise their voices in protest. The brilliant and courageous Theodore of Mopsuestia, who connected the song with the Egyptian marriage of Solomon, was condemned as a heretic by the second council of Constantinople in 553 A.D., and the Church took its stand squarely on the allegorical interpretation of the book. It was not until the Protestant Reformation had unchained the Bible that scholars began again to recognize the natural, naïve character of the Song of Songs. Its natural interpretation

With the recognition that the Song of Songs was an expression of human love between man and woman, two types of dramatic interpretation arose. According to the one, it is a series of dialogues between King Solomon and his peasant bride. The other dramatic theory found in it three characters: the heroine, a beautiful Shulammite maiden; her shepherd lover, to whom she remained true; and King Solomon, who sought by promises and flattery to win her affections and thus to induce her to remain in his harem. The latter theory is still held, but by a diminishing number of interpreters. It is alluring because of its highly dramatic theme and the practical moral lesson which it sets forth. Its most ardent advocates are forced, however, to confess that at many points the interpretation is based upon the ingenious suggestions of the interpreters rather than upon any definite data contained in the poem itself. Furthermore, the dramatic interpretation assumes the Western ideas and customs of love-making and ignores the fixed customs and very different ideals with which the Eastern world hedges in the institution of marriage. It fails to recognize the fact that the speeches and acts which it implies would have been impossible in an ancient Oriental kingdom, least of all under a despotic monarch like Solomon. Many of the scenes, into which this intricate Western dramatic theory divides the little book of eight chapters, do not at the most require more than a minute, if publicly presented, and the whole less than half an hour. It assumes that the concluding chapter records the Shulammite's farewell to Solomon that she may go and wed her shepherd lover; but in the heart of the book (3^6–5^1) there are repeated references to the public wedding ceremony which imply that this had already taken place. Its dramatic interpretation

Later studies of the wedding customs that still prevail in Palestine and Syria and of the songs that are sung on these festal occasions leave little doubt regarding the true character and meaning of the Song of Songs. In a famous article published by the German traveller Wettstein, in Bastian's *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* of 1873, a vivid description is given of the wedding ceremonies observed by the inhabitants of the regions east of Jordan and in the vicinity of Damascus. Before the marriage feast, which is held in the evening at the home of the bride's parents, there are processions and songs. The bride, attired in her wedding-garments, with sword in hand, dances before the attendant guests, who sing her charms with characteristic Oriental license. After the wedding there is a seven days' feast called the *King's Week*, in which the bride and groom are daily placed upon an improvised throne and saluted as king and queen. The king, having captured his bride, is acclaimed victor by the attendant guests. Songs are sung in turn by the bride and groom and their friends, describing in detail and without Light from Palestinian wedding customs

reserve the physical charms of the pretended king and queen. The bride is acclaimed the fairest among women and for a brief time she tastes the joys of regal pomp.

Significance of the historic allusions in the Song of Songs

This custom evidently explains the otherwise obscure references to Solomon and the Shulammite. As Budde has truly said, the historic Solomon figures no more in the Song of Songs than in the Sermon on the Mount, where the lilies are said to be more beautiful than Solomon in all his glory (Mt. 6^{29}). He is simply the grand monarch who in later Oriental tradition was the superlative type of royal magnificence. Thus in 1^{5} the sunburnt Shulammite is likened to the curtains of Solomon; in 3^{7} the palanquin upon which the bridegroom is borne on his wedding-day is called the litter of Solomon. In memory of Israel's early glories the attendants of the bride are, in 3^{11}, called daughters of Jerusalem and the bridegroom is addressed as King Solomon. In 6^{8} the simple love of the bride and groom is contrasted with the artificial splendor of Solomon's harem. In $8^{11, 12}$ the bride contentedly compares her humble lot with Solomon's wealth and magnificence. Similarly, the term *Shulammite* is used interchangeably with the phrase *the most beautiful of women*. It is clearly equivalent to the modern title *queen* that is applied to the peasant bride during her wedding week. It was apparently suggested by the story of Abishag the Shulammite, the fairest maiden of Israel, who was chosen as the consort of David in his old age, and whom, later, Adonijah, the king's oldest son, sought, at the cost of his life, to make his bride (I Kgs. 1^{3}, 2^{13-25}). The popular story regarding Abishag was well calculated to make a profound impression upon the minds of the peasants of Palestine. Such passages as $1^{4, 12}$ and 6^{5} imply that the heroine of the Song of Songs was for the time treated as a queen. In the opening chapter the contrast between the transcendent beauty and royal honors attributed to her by her attendants and her own peasant features and simple tastes is the dominant *motif*.

Biblical references to marriage customs

The Bible contains few references to the details of the ancient Hebrew marriage ceremony. The two famous marriages recorded in the Old Testament are those of Jacob in Genesis 29 and of Samson in Judges 14. In each case the wedding-feast was held in the home of the bride. The culmination of the marriage ceremony was the leading home of the bride by the bridegroom. From Genesis 29^{5} it may be inferred that the Hebrew bride was veiled. Both the bride and the bridegroom were accompanied by attendant friends. Jeremiah 7^{34} refers to the *voice of the bridegroom* and *the voice of the bride*, implying that in ancient times, as to-day, they joined with their friends in the wedding-songs which were then sung.

Modern Palestinian wedding-songs

Dalman, in his *Palästinischer Diwan*, has confirmed and supplemented the data earlier collected by Wettstein regarding the Palestinian wedding customs. On the day preceding the wedding-feast the bride comes out from her home dressed in her wedding-garments, bearing two torches in her hand, and sings certain songs in which the attendant maidens and occasionally the bridegroom respond or take up the refrain. At certain points one female singer joins in and the chorus repeats the verse. Two versions of this antenuptial bride song or parade song, as it is called, have been preserved (Dal-

man, 254–261). The Nazareth version, in which the attendant guests first speak, may be translated as follows:

Attendants:
March hither, in the name of God, thou Fair One,
Thou rose in the garden of flowers!
The carnation blossom, O bride,
And the jasmin o'ershadow us.

Stand up. Mount thy throne;
The doves coo to thee,
The queen herself ministers to thee,
Thou Arab maiden, thou fair one!

Stand up! go into the guest room.
See, what does thy bridegroom lack!
O my lord, he increases his wealth
That he may liberally give thee the purse of gold.

Bridegroom:
She went past me with Egyptian earrings,
All the fish of the sea bestir themselves;
I will bring thee to my breast,
And lay thee to sleep on the heavenly bed.

Attendants:
When they came to bring thee,
They set thee on the wagon;
They paid a hundred lira to thy father, O thou bride
O thou bride, thou fair one!

Bridegroom:
Stand up and come to me,
Thou with the rose red garment,
By the life of thy distinguished father
O bride, as thou marchest about.

Attendants:
She puts on the wooden shoes to walk about,
In order to walk about until she eats at night—
'By the life of my father I eat not
Without a great number of songs.'

Bridegroom:
Remain standing proudly before me,
O sweet one, thou hast disturbed my mind.
And the gain—thou art my possession,
O thou bride, O my eyes!

Attendants:

The daughter of nobles marches about
With two kindled torches—
Rise up. Mount thy high throne,
By the life of thy esteemed father.

Bride:

By the life of my father I go not up
Without eight maid-servants:
Two on account of the fashion,
Two on account of the room,
Two to loosen my buttons,
Two for the heavenly bed.

Songs sung by the bride's attendants

Similar songs are sung by the attendants when the bride is given to the groom and also when the bridegroom receives the bride. The one sung by two of the wedding guests when the bride is given to the groom concludes with the words:

When thou goest into the garden of flowers, sittest in thy happiness
By God, think of us and we will not forget thee.

Songs are also sung as the bride dances before the guests. In one song the bride sings the first half of the line, as she dances, while the chorus answers with the second half. All the attendant guests beat the time by clapping their hands.

A late collection of Hebrew love and marriage songs

These modern wedding customs furnish the key for the interpretation of the Song of Songs. Many figures and allusions that are meaningless to the Western reader become clear in the light of still existing Oriental customs. The Hebrew text, by means of its verbal and pronominal forms, also indicates, in nearly every case, the gender of the one addressed. The Song of Songs is not a drama but a collection of love and marriage songs sung or recited in connection with the different scenes in the ancient Hebrew wedding ceremony. Apparently, they are arranged in the same general order in which they were used, although many rearrangements have been proposed by modern scholars. They were written from the same point of view and probably all put in form by the same editor. The presence of certain Aramaic, Greek, and Persian words, and the constant use of the late form of the Hebrew relative pronoun, indicate that they were probably written during the Greek period.

Suggestions of literary unity

Their dramatic form may also reflect the influence of contact with Greek literature and thought. There are suggestions throughout these songs of a certain literary unity. Thus, for example, the bride is repeatedly spoken of as a garden (*e. g.*, 4^{12}, $6^{2,3}$). This figure, however, is still used in the modern Arab wedding-songs. It is also found in an ancient Egyptian song which a maiden sang to her lover. Here, however, the lover, not the bride, is likened to a garden. This Egyptian poem also suggests many other points of likeness with the Song of Songs:

I am thy favorite sister,
And thou art to me as a garden,
Which I have planted with flowers
And all kinds of fragrant herbs.
Fair is the spot, where'er we be,
If only thy hand is laid upon mine;
Pensive is our mood and happy our heart,
Because we are together.
To hear thy voice is like a draught of wine,
And to listen to thee is life to me!
To see thee is better far
To me than eating and drinking!

Throughout the Song of Songs the bridegroom is likened to King Solomon and the bride's attendants are spoken of as the daughters of Jerusalem. But this was but a part of the dramatic symbolism which characterizes even the modern Palestinian wedding. Another mark of unity is the keen appreciation of the simple beauties of nature that runs through all the songs. An allusion like that in 1^6 to the bride's features, browned by the sun because of her life out in the vineyards, is explained in a later song (8^{12}). Similar refrains recur throughout the book, as, for example, in 2^{17}, 4^6, and 8^{14}. The following refrain, in slightly variant forms, concludes several of the songs (2^7, 3^5, 8^4):

I adjure you, O daughters of Jerusalem,
By the gazelles or by the hinds of the field,
That you stir not up nor awaken love until it please.

Love songs

In the opening section (1^2–3^5) the bride is apparently in her home surrounded by her attendant maidens, who are probably aiding her in preparing for the coming wedding ceremony. Then she receives a visit from her plighted lover. The bride frankly expresses her love and yearnings for him and for the joys of marriage, while her attendants at times join with her. During the recital the bride recalls certain of the scenes that preceded the open plighting of her love, as, for example, in $2^{3\text{-}6,\ 8\text{-}17}$, and sings certain songs which are love poems rather than mere wedding-songs. Oriental customs give little or no opportunity for the open expression of love except on the eve of the wedding ceremony. Then the bride is not only free but is expected to express without restraint and in superlative terms the character and intensity of the love which she feels for the man who is soon to become her husband. In the East, where the parents of the bride and groom arrange all the preliminaries of the marriage, this is the Oriental equivalent of the Occidental period of courtship.

The definite wedding-songs

The song in $3^{6\text{-}11}$ is evidently sung by the wedding guests and proclaims the approach of the bridegroom to his bride. He is likened to Solomon and is surrounded by his male friends who, in keeping with the dramatic representation, are called mighty warriors. The song in 4^1–5^1 voices the bride-

groom's praise of his bride and culminates in the public plighting of their troth. In the next scene (5^2–6^3) the bride is apparently again alone with her companions, and she describes in characteristic Oriental figures the attractions of her lover. In 6^4–8^4 the attendant guests unite with the bridegroom in describing the charms of the bride as she dances before them. This scene also concludes with a public avowal of her love. The last scene ($8^{5\text{-}14}$) represents the culmination of the wedding ceremony, when the bridegroom conducts his bride to his home. At the threshold of her new life she protests her love for her husband in words unsurpassed for beauty and depth of feeling. She also glories in her tested virtue and expresses her contentment with her humble lot.

Aim of the Song of Songs

The aim of the author of the Song of Songs was evidently to present a ritual to be used in the wedding ceremonies that would be both noble and chaste. Doubtless he drew his material from the love and wedding songs that had long been current among the people of Palestine. Some of them may well come from the days preceding the exile, when the memory of the glories of Solomon's kingdom and the story of Abishag the Shulammite, the fairest maiden of Israel, were still fresh in the minds of the people. Possibly the poet has preserved the songs that were actually sung at a certain wedding where he was a guest. There are personal allusions, as, for example, in 8^5, which favor this conclusion; but in general these songs are generic; that is, they are adapted to use at any peasant wedding ceremony. While they do not adequately present the sanctity and beauty inherent in our modern ideal of marriage, for that ideal was unknown to the East, they do extol nobly and exquisitely the sanctity and beauty of true love between man and woman. Nowhere in literature has this divine passion been more beautifully described than in the words which the bride addresses to her husband as she enters his home, thereby making complete the marriage relation:

> Love is as strong as death;
> Jealousy is as irresistible as Sheol;
> Its flames are flames of fire,
> A very flame of Jehovah.
> Many waters cannot quench love,
> Nor can floods drown it.

Its charm and permanent value

These songs reflect the naïveté and the passion of the Eastern world and the roguishness and simplicity of the early peasant life. The simplicity of the country maiden and her contentment with her plain lot stand in strong contrast to the fulsome praise heaped upon her by her friends and attendants. The description of the charms of the bride and bridegroom are characterized by that concreteness and frankness which distinguish the Oriental poetry even of to-day from that of the Western world. The tropical luxury of the figures at times produces a jarring effect upon our Western ears, and yet in their descriptions of springtime and in their love of nature and of the simple joys of life the poems of the Song of Songs command a high place in the world's literature. While the book lacks the lofty religious

teachings that characterize many of the prophetic writings, its literary beauty, its reflection of the life and customs of the early Hebrews, and its strong and effective emphasis on the importance of pure and true love between man and woman vindicate its place among those marvellous writings which aim to deal with every phase of human experience.

V

MUSIC AND SONG IN THE TEMPLE SERVICE

Music and musical instruments among the Egyptians

THE biblical references to music and song in connection with Israel's religion are so few that they leave scores of questions unanswered. The Hebrews, however, in their art and material civilization, followed closely the example of their more advanced neighbors on the east and west. The clearest illustrations of musical instruments that come from the Jewish race are found at Rome on the Arch of Titus, which commemorates the destruction of the Jewish state; but the Egyptian, Babylonian, and Assyrian monuments contain many suggestive pictures of music and musical instruments. These are supplemented by references in the inscriptions themselves, so that through the records of these ancient peoples it is possible to gain a reasonably definite conception of the place of music among the ancient Hebrews. On a tablet of the Sumerian king Urukagina, who lived about 3200 B.C., definite provision is made for the salary of his temple singers. Far back in the old Egyptian kingdom one of the chief court officials was the director of the royal music. Music both in Babylonia and Assyria was the almost invariable accompaniment of song. In Egypt the musicians were men, who ordinarily sang as they played. They were also frequently accompanied by women, who danced as they sang. In one ancient bas-relief the women are represented as playing on castanets and tambourines. From the famous Tell-el-Amarna letters comes a picture of a harpist accompanied by seven blind singers who are clapping their hands in Oriental fashion in order to mark time. In the tomb of Ramses III, who lived about the time of the Hebrew settlement of Canaan, two Egyptian priests are represented as playing on beautifully constructed harps with ten to twelve strings. The harp appears to have been a native Egyptian instrument. The lyre—the Egyptian name of which is practically identical with the Hebrew—was evidently an importation from Asia. On one Egyptian monument a Bedouin, with unmistakable Semitic countenance, is pictured playing on a crude lyre. Another famous Egyptian picture portrays an ancient orchestra with six players, all of whom are women; a large, standing harp with thirteen strings, a lyre, a lute, a smaller harp carried over the shoulder, and a double flute can clearly be distinguished. The sixth woman is clapping her hands to beat time. A collection of ancient Sumerian and Babylonian hymns, originally intended to be used in connection with the cult at Ur, contains this suggestive addendum:

> To the temple of the god let us go with a song of petition upon a lyre,
> The psalmists shall sing,

The psalmists a chant of lordly praise shall sing,
The psalmists a chant upon a lyre shall sing.*

Among the Babylonians and Assyrians

On an elaborate Assyrian bas-relief coming from the reign of Ashurbanipal, the great patron of art and literature, an orchestra is portrayed consisting of twenty-six performers. The instruments include seven portable harps, one dulcimer, two double flutes, and a drum. These instruments are all played by men, but the players are accompanied by four women and nine children arranged in order of size and all clapping their hands to mark time. It is interesting to note that the members of this ancient Semitic band are represented in the act of singing, for one woman is compressing her throat with her hand, as do the modern Orientals, in order to produce the shrill, high tremolo. Another slab in the British Museum pictures Semitic captives, possibly Hebrews, playing on lyres as they march in procession before an Assyrian soldier. The picture vividly recalls the statement in Psalm 137[1-3] that the Hebrew captives hung their harps on the poplars as they sat weeping beside the rivers of Babylon:

For there our captors demanded of us words of song,
They who spoiled us commanded, 'Sing for us a song of Zion.'

The different musical instruments used by the Hebrews

A few references in the Old Testament suggest the character of the musical instruments in use among the Hebrews. In Judges 11[34] it is stated that Jephthah's daughter came out with tambourines and dances to meet the warriors as they returned from their victories over the Ammonites. According to the ancient story in I Samuel 10[5, 10], Saul, after leaving Samuel, met a band of prophets with a lyre, a tambourine, a flute, and a harp. Psalm 150[3-5] contains a summary of the musical instruments later employed by the Israelites in connection with their religious services:

Praise him with the blast of the horn,
Praise him with the harp and lyre,
Praise him with the timbrel and dance,
Praise him with strings and pipe,
Praise him with sounding cymbals,
Praise him with clashing cymbals.

Six instruments are here mentioned by name. The horn, or trumpet, mentioned first, was probably one of the earliest musical instruments used by the Hebrews. It was simply the ram's horn adapted to musical use. It appears from the references to it that it was used chiefly in announcing the beginnings of the year of jubilee and the important festivals. Psalm 81[3, 4] reads:

Blow the trumpet at the new moon,
At the full moon, on our feast day;
For it is a statute for Israel,
An ordinance of the God of Jacob.

* Langdon, *Sum. and Bab. Hymns*, 70.

Trumpets were also blown by the priest to indicate the different stages in the temple service. The two trumpets pictured on the Arch of Titus at Rome are straight and long and have flaring, bell-like ends. They were probably made of metal. Several instruments of percussion were known to the Hebrews. The tambourine, or timbrel, was used in connection with the popular dances and in connection with religious music of the most joyous character. Psalm 81 begins:

> Sing aloud to God, our strength,
> Shout to the God of Jacob,
> Raise a song and sound the timbrel,
> The pleasant lyre with the harp.

Lyre and harp

As among the Egyptians and Babylonians, the lyre and harp were apparently the favorite instruments. There is no means of determining their exact Hebrew form except from the Assyrian bas-reliefs. The two harp-like instruments pictured on the late Jewish coins are vase-shaped, with three or four vertical strings extending from the base to a cross piece above which rests on supports rising on either side. The lyre and the harp were used only on joyful occasions, such as feasts and happy religious services. The harp among the Hebrews appears to have been consecrated almost entirely to worship. In I Chronicles 15^{20} there is a reference to harps set to female voices. The same musical direction is found in the superscription to Psalm 46. The implication is that the harp was pitched high and used to accompany soprano voices.

Wind instruments

Of the wind instruments, the flute is the most important. Originally it was made of reed, but later of wood bored through, as its Hebrew name indicates. There were many varieties of flutes. The more primitive had only three or four holes while the later appear to have had seven, covering the entire octave. The double flute, or Pan's pipe, was in common use among the Babylonians and Egyptians and probably among the Hebrews. The more sombre music of the flute was the common accompaniment of mourning and of the sadder and more pensive songs. There is a Jewish tradition that in the second temple there was a primitive pipe-organ provided with a leather bellows and a wind-box with ten openings. Into each of these openings a pipe with ten holes was fitted, so that it was possible to obtain from the organ one hundred distinct tones. Inasmuch as the hydraulic organ was discovered by Ctesibias about 250 B.C., it is possible that some such organ was used in the later temple.

Music and song in the pre-exilic temples

The picture of the Egyptian priests playing on harps implies that musical instruments were used by the people of the Nile in connection with their religious services. During the days of the new empire one of the chief functions of the Egyptian queen was to lead the female singers in the ritual. In Babylonia and Assyria most of the musicians appear to have been priests. The few allusions in the pre-exilic Old Testament records imply that from the earliest times both music and song played an important part in the religious life of the people. The band of prophets who were prophesying,

that is, probably giving expression to their ecstasy in song to the accompaniment of lyre, tambourine, and harp, were coming from the high place where they had evidently been worshipping. The ancient record in II Samuel 6^{14} states that *David was dancing* (probably whirling) *before Jehovah with all his might*, as he with all Israel brought the ark of Jehovah to Jerusalem with shouting and the sound of the trumpet. Elisha, according to II Kings 3^{15}, in order to prophesy, called for a minstrel, for *whenever the minstrel played the power of Jehovah came upon him.* The most significant statement is that of the prophet Amos, as he preached, probably on a festal occasion at the royal sanctuary at Bethel:

> Banish from me the noise of your songs,
> For to the melody of your lyres I will not listen. (5^{23}.)

Lamentations 2^{7} also contains the important statement:

> The foreign conquerors have made a din in Jehovah's house as in the day of solemn assembly.

Clearly, music and song were both used by the Hebrews of the pre-exilic period in connection with their temple worship, but there is no evidence that there was a special class of singers. Ezekiel, in his elaborate description of the temple officials and of the temple itself, makes no reference to them or to any special provision for this part of the ritual. It is even more significant that the detailed laws of the Pentateuch contain no references to temple singers or to their support. The natural conclusion, therefore, is that there was no special class but that the singing at the pre-exilic Hebrew sanctuaries was voluntary and that the assembled worshippers as a whole participated in it. The simple music required was probably, as in Egypt and Babylonia, supplied by the priests of each sanctuary.

Nature of the song service

Isaiah $30^{29, 32}$, although post-exilic, suggests the nature of the early song services in connection with the temple:

> A song shall you have on your lips, as on a night when a feast is celebrated.
> And you shall have gladness of heart like the one who sets forth with a flute
> To go to the Mount of Jehovah, to the Rock of Israel.

In the traditional account of the transfer of the ark to Jerusalem in the days of David the author of I Chronicles 15^{19-24} has given a vivid picture of the musical customs in vogue at least during the Greek period when he lived: *So the singers Heman, Asaph and Ethan, were to sound aloud on cymbals of brass, while other singers played on lyres set to female voices . . . and with harps set to the octave to lead. . . . And certain other priests blew the trumpet before the ark of God.* In its poetic paraphrase of this tradition Psalm $68^{24, 25}$ completes the picture:

> They have seen thy procession, O Jehovah,
> The processions of my God, my King to the sanctuary;
> The singers went before; behind the musicians;
> In the midst maidens playing on timbrels.

In the original text preserved in I Esdras 4^{62} it is stated that *the exiles who returned after their liberation by Cyrus praised the God of their fathers . . . and exulted seven days with music and rejoicing.* The fiftieth chapter of Ben Sira contains the most detailed picture of the post-exilic temple service, probably as it was observed on the day of atonement:

> Then shouted the sons of Aaron,
> They blew on the trumpets of beaten work,
> They blew and sent forth a mighty blast,
> As a remembrance before the Most High.
> Then all the people together hasted,
> They fell down with their faces to the ground,
> To worship their Lord, the Almighty God, Most High.
> The singers also praised him with their voices;
> In the whole house was there made sweet melody. ($^{15-18}$.)

The music of the second temple

From these vivid descriptions and from the nature of the instruments used in connection with the Hebrew worship it is possible to draw certain definite inferences regarding the character of the music used in the services of the second temple. The music employed by the Jews to-day throws little light on the problem, for it has preserved few, if any, of the old melodies. The instruments employed and the musical terms used in the psalms indicate that Hebrew music was strident and noisy. Harmony in our modern sense was apparently unknown, even as it is to the Turks and Persians and Arabs to-day. This does not mean that Hebrew music was necessarily dissonant. A modern Arab chorus almost always sings in unison. The melody is not appreciated by an Occidental because it is rhythmical rather than harmonious. II Chronicles 5^{13} contains the suggestive statement: *Both the trumpeters and the singers were as one, making one sound to praise Jehovah.* This probably means that the trumpeters all played together on the same note during the pauses, while the voices sang the air in unison. The superscriptions to a few of the psalms suggest that the melody was sometimes reduplicated in octaves. As a matter of fact, the octave was known at a very early period. The religious scale was probably diatonic, each song being sung on one prevailing key. The pauses were determined by the sense of the passage. Unlike our modern chants, interpretation of the ideas was the chief end sought and the melody was entirely secondary. The monotony was still further relieved by the introduction of antiphonal or alternating choruses. Unfortunately, the directions regarding the change of speakers or choruses, if they ever existed, have been lost, so that it is necessary to infer from the contents of the psalms themselves how the different parts were intended to be rendered. Like the weird, fascinating music which is still used by certain Mohammedan sects in connection with their religious services, the music and songs of the ancient Hebrews undoubtedly made a powerful emotional impression upon the worshippers. Unlike some of our complicated modern music, it never concealed but ever aided in revealing the thoughts and feelings which it was intended to inter-

pret, and thus served to establish the sense of a close, intimate relation between the worshippers and their God.

History of the temple singers

The prominence given to the temple singers by later Judaism is an index of the popular appreciation of the important place held by music and song in the ritual. The history of the temple singers is enveloped in much obscurity. The chief sources of information are (1) the superscriptions to the psalms, (2) the testimony of the author of Chronicles, who was himself a temple singer and intensely interested in this class, and (3) the data found in the later Jewish writings. One of the older groups of songs in the Psalter (42–49) is dedicated to the sons of Korah. These were apparently a guild of temple singers, called the *sons of Korah*, even as the early Hebrew priests were called the *sons of Levi* and the prophetic guilds the *sons of the prophets*. Another group of psalms, apparently coming from a little later period, are similarly dedicated to the sons of Asaph. Two later psalms (88, 89) are associated with the names of Heman and Ethan. The implication, therefore, of these superscriptions is that the oldest group of singers bore the name *sons of Korah* and that the other guilds came into existence, or at least into prominence, at later periods. This conclusion is in general confirmed by the writings of the Chronicler. In his version of the census of the Judean community, found in Ezra 2^{41} and the parallel passage in Nehemiah 7^{44} and also in Nehemiah 11^{22}, the temple singers are known simply as the *sons of Asaph*. These lists apparently represent conditions in the Judean community during the latter part of the Persian and the earlier part of the Greek periods. There is no evidence that the temple singers were originally drawn from the ranks of the Levites. Their membership in the musical guilds probably depended upon their inclinations and ability. In Nehemiah 10^{28} they are ranked side by side with the porters and temple servants.

Fortunes of the sons of Korah

In the days of the Chronicler, however (*circa* 250 B.C.), the older guild of the sons of Korah had apparently disappeared and are represented simply by the sub-guild of Heman. This is directly implied by the Chronicler in I Chronicles 6^{33-37}, where he makes Heman a descendant of Korah. It is also confirmed by the superscription to Psalm 88, which is classified as a psalm of the sons of Korah; but in the latter part of the superscription it is also designated as a Maskil of Heman the Ezrahite. Why the sons of Korah lost their prestige must remain a question of conjecture. According to I Chronicles 9^{19} and $26^{1,\ 19}$ and elsewhere in the writings of the Chronicler the Korahites were simply doorkeepers and guardians of the temple. Possibly the late priestly story in Numbers 16 regarding the rebellion of the Korahites and of the signal judgment that overtook them is the late traditional record of a rebellion of this guild of temple singers against the regular priests. These were designated in post-exilic days as the *sons of Aaron*, that is, the guild of priests that guarded the ark (Hebrew ארון *ark*). In II Chronicles 20^{19}, however, the Chronicler speaks of the Korahites as singers, but he assigns their activity to an early period in Israel's history, thus confirming the conclusions already drawn: *In the days of Jehoshaphat the Levites of the sons of the Kohathites and of the sons of the Korahites stood up to praise Jehovah the God of Israel with an exceedingly loud voice.*

Position of the temple singers during the Persian and Greek periods

The Chronicler also identifies the three guilds of temple singers of his day with the Levites and in his characteristic way traces their appointment to the days of David. Thus I Chronicles 15[16, 17] reads: *David also commanded the chief of the Levites to appoint their kinsmen the singers with instruments of music, lyres, harps, and cymbals, who should raise shouts of rejoicing. So the Levites appointed Heman, the son of Joel; and of his kinsmen Asaph, the son of Berechia and of the sons of Merari, their kinsman, Ethan, the son of Kushaiah.* These data indicate rather clearly the history of the temple singers during the Persian and Greek periods. The absence of any reference to them in contemporary writings and in the Pentateuch imply that they did not become prominent until the latter part of the Persian period after Nehemiah had restored the walls of Jerusalem and the priestly law associated with Ezra had been instituted. Their growing prominence was one of the results of the emphasis which the late priestly law and the leaders of the Judean community placed upon the temple and its ritual. It is contemporaneous with the growth of the Psalter and the increasing importance of the song service. The guild of the Korahites appears to have flourished during the middle and latter part of the Persian period and to have been originally distinct from the priests and Levites. Before the close of the Persian period the sons of Asaph succeeded, in part, at least, to the position and prestige at first held by the sons of Korah. Possibly the sons of Asaph, as the Chronicler states, were enlisted from the Levites. Their non-Levitical origin may explain why the sons of Korah were gradually set aside, so that by the days of the Chronicler they had no part in the song service of the temple. At least it is certain that by the middle of the Greek period the three contemporary guilds of singers known as the sons of Asaph, of Heman, and of Ethan or Jeduthun (I Chr. 25[1, 6]) were classified as Levites and were in charge of the song service of the temple. The presence of three guilds also indicates the growing numbers and importance of this class of temple servants. In I Chronicles 24[1-19] and 25 the Chronicler states that, like the priests, they had become so numerous that they were divided into twenty-four courses and that each course ministered in turn at the temple while the others returned to their homes and turned their attention to other occupations. The rapidly increasing importance of music and of the singer class illustrates forcibly the growing emphasis which later Judaism placed upon the ritual and upon the expression of religion in public worship. The next step in Jewish thought was by analogy to transfer this elaborate system of song service from earth to heaven and to think of God himself as surrounded by choirs of angelic singers ever chanting his praises. Thus the dominant ritualistic tendency of later Judaism transformed and reshaped human beliefs regarding the ways in which God should be served not only on earth but also in the life beyond death.

VI

THE LITERARY AND HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE PSALTER

The old Sumerian hymnology

MODERN discovery and research have demonstrated that at least two millenniums of intense human struggle and earnest religious thought lie back of the Hebrew Psalter. Centuries before the days of Moses and David the ancient Sumerians, Egyptians, and Babylonians developed a hymnology that in volume and literary form, if not in spirit and content, was startlingly like that of the Hebrews. In one ancient inscription the titles of over one hundred Sumerian and Babylonian hymns are given. These ancient hymns for public service were classified according to the musical instruments that were to be used with them. Some were to be sung with the flute, some with the lyre, and others probably with the bagpipe. The poetic structure of these ancient hymns is also clearly indicated on the clay inscriptions. As in modern poetry, each succeeding line begins anew at the left of the page. Where longer metres are employed, the pause in the middle of each line is also marked.

Hymns to Enlil

A few of the older Sumerian hymns strike noble chords. The most significant are the hymns and prayers addressed to Enlil, the old god of Nippur. One opens with the significant words:

> O Enlil, counsellor, doth any one comprehend thy form?
> The strength-begifted lord of the harvest lands,
> Created in the mountains, lord of the grain-fields,
> Warrior who possesseth great strength, father Enlil,
> Thou art the powerful prince of the gods,
> For creating posterity thou sustainest life,
> As the air, thou art all-pervading.

Another psalm which is really a lament addressed to Enlil begins:

> O honored one, relent, behold thy city!
> O exalted and honored one, relent, behold thy city!
> O lord of the lands, relent, behold thy city!
> O lord of unerring word, relent, behold thy city.
> Enlil, father of Sumer, relent, behold thy city!
> . . . . . .
> The little ones perish, the great ones perish,
> Her booty the dogs defile,

Her pillage the rude foe defiles,
In her banqueting hall the wind revels.

Amenhotep IV's hymn to Aton

A large number of hymns sung to the gods have come down from the beginnings of Egyptian history. The crowning product of this wide-spread tendency to worship the gods with song and musical accompaniment is the famous hymn in praise of Aton by the great reforming king Amenhotep IV. It opens with the majestic passage:

Thy dawning is beautiful in the horizon of heaven,
O living Aton, beginning of life!
When thou risest in the eastern horizon of heaven,
Thou fillest every land with thy beauty;
For thou art beautiful, great, glittering, high over the earth;
Thy rays, they encompass the lands, even all thou hast made.
Thou art Re, and thou hast carried them all away captive,
Thou bindest them by thy love.
Though thou art afar, thy rays are on earth,
Though thou art on high, thy footprints are the day.

The hymn then goes on to describe night and darkness and the god's care for men and animals in language strikingly parallel to that of Psalm 104. (Cf. § 95.) After picturing the creation of man and the animals the poem continues:

How manifold are thy works!
They are hidden from before us,
O thou sole god, whose powers no other possesseth,
Thou didst create the earth according to thy desire,
While thou wast alone:
Men, all cattle large and small,
All that are upon the earth,
That go about upon their feet;
All that are on high,
That fly with their wings.

The poem concludes with an ardent prayer by the king in his own behalf:

Thou art in my heart,
There is no other that knoweth thee,
Save thy son Ikhnaton;
Thou hast made him wise in thy designs,
And in thy might.*

Most of the Egyptian hymns are trivial and repetitious. After the remarkable burst of reforming activity under Amenhotep IV, little religious

* Breasted, *Hist. of Egypt*, 371–5.

progress is discernible. The later poems become mere repetitions of the ancient hymns or else tiresome liturgies. As in art and literature, so in the praise of the gods, the Egyptians reached their zenith long before the beginnings of Israel's history. It is not improbable that the prominence given to the song service of the Egyptians exerted a certain influence on the Jewish worshippers at the Yahu temple, which stood for generations in the city of Elephantine, only a few yards away from a famous Egyptian shrine. In the sacred city of Memphis and in other great cities of Egypt there were ample opportunities for the Egyptians to exert at least an indirect influence upon the imitative Jews of the dispersion. With the possible exception, however, of the one hundred and fourth Psalm, it is impossible to trace a direct transference of Egyptian thought to the Jewish Psalter. The incontestable superiority of the Hebrew psalms to those which come from the land of the Nile speak conclusively against such a transfer.

Influence of the Egyptian hymns upon the Psalter

The history of the development of Babylonian and Assyrian hymnology is in many ways closely parallel to that among the Egyptians: the older hymns are the nobler; the later are little more than repetitions or slavish imitations of the older models. The same hymns were sung as late as 200 B.C. in practically the same form as in the days of Hammurabi, who lived nearly two thousand years earlier. Of these ancient psalms the hymns to Shamash, the sun-god, are the noblest. In one he is addressed as follows:

Babylonian and Assyrian hymns

> The law of mankind dost thou direct,
> Eternally just in the heavens art thou,
> Of faithful judgment towards all the world art thou;
> Thou knowest what is right, thou knowest what is wrong.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> O Shamash! Supreme judge, great lord of all the world art thou!
> Lord of creation, merciful one of the world art thou!
> O Shamash! on this day purify and cleanse the king, the son of his god;
> Whatever is evil within him, let it be taken out.

Elsewhere the chief god of Babylon is thus addressed:

> Powerful Marduk, whose anger is a destroying flood
> Who reconciled is like a merciful father,
> I am oppressed by prayers without reply;
> Wails unheard depress me.

Sometimes these psalms or petitions are in dialogue form: first the priest presents the cause of the petitioner and then the petitioner himself speaks. In all of them there is much repetition, which reveals their liturgical purpose. They also contain references to their use in connection with the great feasts, as, for example, that of the New Year. Upon the Jewish exiles living in Babylon these elaborate services must have made a profound impression and must have emphasized the tendency, already strong, to develop this

form of the ritual in connection with the second temple. Occasional echoes of the ancient Sumerian and Babylonian hymns may be traced in the Hebrew Psalter, but for the most part the older hymnology is cold and barren compared with the fervent songs later sung by the worshippers of Jehovah.

Psalms in the pre-exilic Hebrew temple

Distinct references, like that in Amos 5^{23}, to the songs sung in the temple at Bethel, and, in Lamentations 2^{7}, to the din on the day of solemn assembly, leave little doubt that the Hebrews, even before the exile, chanted songs at their sanctuaries on the great feast-days. In certain of the pre-exilic prophetic books, as, for example, Jeremiah $9^{17\text{-}22}$ and $12^{7\text{-}12}$, are found lyrical poems which in form and content closely resemble many of the individual psalms found in the first part of the Psalter. Concerning the nature of the psalms sung in connection with pre-exilic temples there is no clear evidence. Amos appears to have regarded them with disfavor. Whether or not any of them are still preserved in the Psalter must be determined from a detailed study of the individual psalms.

Different types of psalms

The superscriptions of the individual psalms contain certain suggestions regarding the history of Old Testament hymnology. The oldest Hebrew designation of a lyric poem (*shîr*) is usually translated *song*. It is used to describe the joyous songs in Genesis 31^{27}, Isaiah 5^{1}, 30^{29}, the triumphal ode chanted by the Hebrew women after the great victory under the leadership of Deborah and Barak (Judg. 5^{12}), and the love-songs in the Song of Songs. It also describes the songs sung at drunken revels (Is. 24^{9}). In every case it is the designation of joyous songs sung probably with musical accompaniments. This meaning is also implied by the Greek equivalent *psalmos* (from which comes the English word *psalm*), which means a song sung to the accompaniment of a harp or some stringed instrument. This title is borne by a group of psalms which appear to be among the oldest in the Psalter. As the title implies, they are especially adapted to liturgical use. Seven psalms bear the title *Miktam*, which probably means *chosen*. All of them are ascribed to David and most of them are relatively early. Their noble style and strong emotion confirm the popular interpretation of this term. Fifty-seven psalms bear the title *Mizmor*. The derivation of this term is not certain, but it probably means *prime*, that is, psalms selected for use, possibly, in the synagogue. Thirteen psalms bear the title *Maskil*, which comes from the common Hebrew verb meaning *to ponder, to meditate*. The contents of these meditations indicate that most of them come from the circle of the wise. Their contents also suggest that they are comparatively late. These different titles clearly indicate that the Psalter consists of collections of psalms which come from different periods and from different groups of writers.

The Davidic titles

A second group of superscriptions represents the later traditions regarding the authorship of individual psalms or gives the names of famous characters in Israel's history to which they were ascribed. Seventy-four psalms in the Hebrew Bible bear the title *To David*. In the Greek version many other psalms are ascribed to Israel's early poet king. The meaning of this title has been differently interpreted. It is exceedingly doubtful if the Hebrew preposition *to* was ever used before the exile to designate authorship. In

Isaiah 38[9], which is probably post-exilic, it is used to describe a poem attributed to Hezekiah. From the beginning of the exile the use of this term to indicate possession became increasingly prominent. The Sidonian coins bear a similar inscription: *To the Sidonians.* The closest analogy to the title *To David* is the inscription, *To the Sons of Korah,* borne by Psalms 42–49, or the title *To Asaph* (*e. g.*, Ps. 50). Clearly this title does not mean that these psalms were written by members of these guilds of singers but rather that they were either dedicated to them or written for their use. Hence the title *To David* must mean either a psalm dedicated to David or else one of a collection of songs made by a guild of singers who bore the historic designation David. The contents of these seventy-four so-called Davidic psalms leaves no doubt that the majority, if not all of them, were written long after the days of David. This fact lends probability to the conclusion that the title *Psalm to David,* like the corresponding terms *Proverbs of Solomon* and *Law of Moses,* was used to designate an early literary production the exact authorship of which was unknown, but which was by current tradition attributed to the traditional patron of this type of literature.

The tendency to attribute all psalms to David

That the tendency in time became strong to attribute all lyric poetry to David is confirmed not only by the title but also by the epilogue to Psalm 72: *The Prayers of Jesse the Son of David are ended.* The same tendency gave rise to the third type of superscription which connects individual psalms with incidents in the life of the great king. Thirteen such superscriptions are found. These historical notes are based on the narratives in I and II Samuel after these books had received their final Deuteronomic redaction. They cannot, therefore, be earlier than the exile. It is possible that they were added by the editor who collected the so-called Davidic collection of psalms. They are scattered throughout the Psalter, beginning with the third psalm and concluding with Psalm 142.

Musical directions

A third type of superscription consists of the musical directions attached to certain psalms. Most of them are found in connection with the psalms inscribed to the musical director, and they were clearly intended to facilitate the use of the psalms in the synagogue or temple service. Of these musical directions there are two types: (1) those designating the voice and (2) those indicating the tone or melody. Under the first class several, as in I Chronicles 15[20], bear the title *For maidens,* that is, for soprano or falsetto voices. Two others (6, 12) have a musical direction that recurs in I Chronicles 15[21]. It probably means *on the octave,* or *the lower octave.* The designations of tone or melody apparently consist of the opening word or words of a popular song introduced by the phrase *in accordance with.* Thus, Psalm 56 was to be sung to the same tune as the popular song, *The Silent Dove of Them Who Are Afar Off.* The superscription to Psalms 45, 69, and 80 is probably to be translated, *My Testimony is a Beautiful Anemone.* The melody of Psalm 22 bears the picturesque title *Hind of the Dawn.* The difficulties which later translators found in interpreting these superscriptions is shown by the wide variations in the renderings. In the light of the Greek and Syriac, the superscriptions of Psalms 8, 81, and 84 should

probably be rendered, *For the Wine Presses*, but this is rendered by the Targum, *The Harp which David Brought to Gath.*

The immediate historical background of the Psalter

The final proofs regarding the date of individual psalms and, therefore, of the growth of the Psalter are the literary characteristics, the historical allusions, and the spirit and thought of each psalm; but the analogies in the development of hymnology in other religions, the occasional references in the Hebrew writings outside the Psalter, and the testimony of the superscriptions indicate beyond doubt that the growth of Israel's lyric literature was gradual and culminated in the four centuries following the destruction of Jerusalem. The immediate historical background of the majority of the psalms was clearly a period of crisis and persecution. Like the earliest Christian hymns, they were cast in the furnace of affliction. Recent discovery and biblical research have given us a new and increasingly definite knowledge of the four centuries and a half that followed the destruction of Jerusalem in 586 B.C. For the faithful Jew it was a period of intense and protracted agony relieved only by a few brief intervals of peace and prosperity. The sack of their temple and capital city, the flight of many refugees to Egypt, and the deportation of their political and spiritual leaders to Babylonia left the Jewish people dismembered and crushed. In the words of the author of Lamentations $4^{14, 15}$:

> They wandered as blind men through the streets, polluted with blood;
> That men might not touch them they drew aside their garments:
> 'Unclean!' they cried to them, 'Depart, do not touch.'

Sadly he wails:

> Our eyes still fail in looking, for help that is unavailing,
> In our watching we have watched in vain for a nation that does not help.

Hopes that centred about the rebuilding of the temple

The Jews, however, through the ages have always proved a race of optimists. Even the disaster of 586 B.C. could not crush them. Gradually their hope kindled and centred in the survivors of the house of David. Refugees came back to build their hovels on the ruins of Jerusalem and a simple ritual was instituted on the desecrated temple site. The conquest of Babylon by Cyrus in 538 B.C. brought to the Jews of Palestine religious liberty and possibly inspired a handful of the exiles to come back from distant Babylonia. In 520 Haggai and Zechariah fired the zeal of the poverty-stricken remnant that remained in Palestine to rebuild the ruined walls of the ancient temple and to revive the sacrifices. The news of the mighty revolutions that shook the Persian Empire at the beginning of the reign of Darius led the temple builders to hope, though in vain, for the restoration of their former independence and glory under the rule of their governor, Zerubbabel, the surviving representative of the house of David. It was one of the rare moments in post-exilic history when Israel's earlier messianic hopes burst into a flame; but that flame was quickly extinguished when the rule of Darius was firmly established throughout the Persian

Empire. Zerubbabel was probably banished or put to death. The high priest under a Persian governor became henceforth the civil as well as the religious head of the Jewish people.

The seventy years of distress

The seventy years which followed were among the darkest and most discouraging in all of Israel's history. They are recorded not in the annals but in the lyrics of the Old Testament. When Nehemiah came to Palestine in 445 B.C. he found the Jewish community the helpless victim of the pitiless attacks of its heathen neighbors. Worse still, he found the mass of the people robbed of their hereditary estates and enslaved by their heartless rulers. It was a period when fidelity to Jehovah and to his demands was rewarded by poverty and persecution and the taunts of those who, like Job's friends, held to the old dogma that misfortune and suffering were the inevitable proofs of sin and divine displeasure. It is probable that out of this period of anguish come the two noblest products of Israel's immortal genius, the book of Job and the rhapsodies of Isaiah 40–55. Faith, which, though crushed to earth, rose to heaven, was invincible. Apparently, it was the II Isaiah's peerless ideal of the suffering servant of Jehovah that kindled the zeal of the youthful Nehemiah in distant Susa and thus set in motion forces which not only resulted in the rebuilding of the walls of Jerusalem but also in the transformation of the ideals and life of Judaism.

Closing years of the Persian period

The period which followed the work of Nehemiah was one of prosperity and confidence and exultation for the Jews of Palestine. It is clearly the background of many of the most beautiful psalms in the Psalter. Through the dark, gloomy valley Jehovah had led his people forth unharmed, and now as their divine host set before them a rich table in the presence of their enemies. During the closing years of the Persian period the avenging armies of the bloody Artaxerxes Ochus traversed Palestine. How far they afflicted the Jews and left their mark upon the Psalter is not entirely clear. At about the same time the feud between Jew and Samaritan began to distort and embitter the spirit of these two kindred yet alien peoples.

The Greek period

The conquest of Palestine by Alexander the Great, 332 B.C., did not materially affect the fortunes of the Judean community but it greatly broadened their intellectual horizon. Many Jews followed in the wake of Alexander's conquests or else were attracted to the great cities of the eastern Mediterranean, and especially to Egypt, by the unusual opportunities offered them for commerce and trade. Flourishing Greek colonies on the borders of Syria and in Palestine itself brought the Jews into close contact with the alluring life and culture of Greece. The psalms of the Greek period show the influence of this broader outlook which came through contact with Greek thought and civilization. Joel, who lived during the latter part of the Persian period, is the last Old Testament prophet whose name we know. Henceforth the wise men, or sages, filled the place formerly occupied by the prophets. Unlike the earlier prophets who spoke to the nation, they addressed their teachings to the individual. Recognizing the great value of the lyric as a form of teaching, they presented the results of their thought and experience not only in proverbs but in psalms. Like the prophets and priests, they made a profound impression upon the Psalter.

The Maccabean struggle

During the century and a half following the death of Alexander the Jews of Palestine were in turn courted or conquered by the Ptolemies of Egypt or by the Seleucid rulers of Syria. Finally, about 200 B.C., they came under the permanent control of Syria. During the next half century Greek ideas and culture made alarming inroads upon Judaism. At last the reigning high priests themselves became ardent Hellenists. Finally, however, the bitter persecutions of Antiochus Epiphanes aroused the slumbering loyalty of the Jewish race. The blood of its martyrs fired the zeal of the aged priest Mattathias and his brave sons, and Israel entered upon its second great, heroic age. The valiant deeds of Saul and David were repeatedly eclipsed on hard-fought battle-fields. The faith and swords of Judas and his followers ultimately won not only religious freedom but also political independence.

Conclusions

The three great crises that have left their indelible stamp upon the Psalter are (1) the destruction of Jerusalem in 586, (2) the seventy years of discouragement and petty persecution which followed the disillusionment of those who rebuilt the second temple, and (3) the bitter Maccabean struggle. The brighter, more joyous periods were (1) the few short years between 520 and 516 B.C. when the temple was being rebuilt, (2) the period of hopefulness and rejoicing following the work of Nehemiah in 445, (3) the comparatively calm though less joyous Greek period, and (4) the confident, exultant, warlike age inaugurated by the brilliant victories of Judas Maccabeus.

VII

THE STRUCTURE AND HISTORY OF THE PSALTER

The five great divisions of the Psalter

THE Psalter in its present form is divided into five divisions or books. These are 1–41, 42–72, 73–89, 90–106, and 107–150. Each of these divisions is marked by a concluding doxology. Psalm 150 in itself constitutes the closing doxology. The first three divisions are natural and apparently mark successive stages in the early growth of the Psalter. The division between 106 and 107 is arbitrary, for Psalms 104–107 are in theme a literary unit. This fivefold division is the work either of the final editor of the Psalter or else of some later reviser. Its aim was probably to divide the Psalter into five divisions corresponding to the five books of the law. It emphasizes, however, the fact that the Psalter is made up of smaller collections and that, like the book of Proverbs, it grew gradually as the result of bringing different collections together. Chapter 1, which constitutes a general introduction, like the introduction to the book of Proverbs (1–9), is probably one of the latest additions to the book. Its didactic character reflects the thought of the later wise and of their successors the scribes.

The two Davidic collections

The oldest collection of psalms in the Psalter is clearly the so-called first Davidic collection found in 2–41. Psalm 10, which lacks the title *To David*, was once the second half of an acrostic of which the first is found in 9. The title of Psalm 33 is also lacking except in the Greek version. Its contents indicate that it was later inserted in this earlier collection. Another Davidic collection is found in 51–72. At the close of this collection is found the significant note, following an elaborate doxology: *The prayers of David, the son of Jesse, are ended.* This postscript lends force to the suggestion, made long ago by Ewald, that the first Davidic collection was once followed immediately by the second contained in 51–72. If this reconstruction be adopted it also solves another problem, for at present Psalm 50, which is dedicated to Asaph, is separated from the other Asaph psalms in 73–83 by the second Davidic collection (51–72). This restoration brings together the two great collections of psalms attributed to the temple singers, the sons of Korah and the sons of Asaph. The general character and contents of the second Davidic collection confirms the conclusion that they come from the same general point of view and from a little later period than those in the first collection.

Their date

The evidence is reasonably convincing that the majority of the sixty-two psalms in these Davidic collections (2–41, 51–72) were written during the first half of the Persian period or earlier and that the first collection was made soon after the work of Nehemiah and the priestly reforms associated

with Ezra. The literary style of these psalms is vigorous and free from the Aramaisms and artificialities which characterize many of the psalms in the latter part of the Psalter. They contain few liturgical formulas and most of them are written from the individual or class point of view. In general they reflect the events following the Babylonian exile and the life of a poor, struggling community surrounded by merciless oppressors. The teachings of the pre-exilic prophets, and especially Jeremiah (*e. g.*, Ps. 16 and 39), have made a profound impression upon the minds of the psalmists. The chief problems are those of Lamentations and of Isaiah 40–66, with which writings these psalms have many points of contact. They reveal the sufferings and the hopes of the afflicted during the days preceding the appearance of Nehemiah as well as the confidence and optimism that burst out after his advent. The editor or editors who collected them were probably inspired to do so by the rebuilding of the walls of Jerusalem, the revival of the Judean community, and the extension of the temple service which resulted from the work of that great Jewish layman. The fact that Psalm 14 is reproduced in 53 and 31^{1-3} in 71^{1-3} suggests that the second collection, 51–72, was made independently and a little later, possibly near the close of the Persian or early in the Greek period.

The Korahite psalms

Psalms 42–49 bear the superscription, *To the Sons of Korah.* Inasmuch as these were the chief guild of singers at the Jerusalem temple during the middle and latter part of the Persian period, and were later supplanted by the guilds of Asaph, Heman, and Jeduthun, it is probable that the collection of Korahite psalms comes from the same period. This dating is confirmed by their contents. The problem of innocent suffering still rests heavily upon the psalmists, but the earlier sense of guilt is lacking, even as in the contemporary prophecy of Joel. The literary style is vigorous and highly poetic. The liturgical form as well as the title of these psalms indicates that most of them were written for use in the temple service. The eight Korahite psalms (42–49) were probably added to the earlier Davidic collections about the beginning of the Greek period.

The psalms of the sons of Korah

In the second half of the Psalter the indications of historical growth are indistinct. The titles point to the work of a final editor who combined many smaller collections. The third general division opens with a collection of eleven psalms, 73–83, to which should be added Psalm 50, which in the process of editorial revision had been separated from them. These are all dedicated to the sons of Asaph, who, we may infer from the references in Chronicles, came into prominence about 250 B.C. In this collection are found certain psalms, as, for example, 74, 79, and 83, which clearly voice the feelings of the Jews while they were being ground down under the cruel heel of Antiochus Epiphanes (167–164 B.C.).

The Hallel psalms

Scattered through the latter part of the Psalter are two groups of so-called Hallel psalms (104–118 and 136–150), each of which is introduced by the superscription *Hallelujah,* which may be interpreted: *Give praise to Yah.* Their contents as well as their title indicate that they were written for liturgical use. Psalms 104–107 are in reality one psalm describing Jehovah's rulership of the world and leadership of his people. Psalm 104 de-

scribes the creation, 105 the exodus, 106 Israel's early history, and 107 the later restoration. Psalms 111 and 112 constitute an acrostic. In the later Jewish ritual Psalms 113 and 114 were chanted before the Passover meal and 115–118 at its close. In the great Hallel psalm, 136, the same refrain is repeated twenty-six times. Psalms 146–149, like 150, are in reality long doxologies adapted to use in the synagogue and temple service. These Hallel psalms probably come from the latter part of the Greek and the first part of the Maccabean periods. Several of them are quoted by the Chronicler, indicating that they were probably in existence as early as 250 B.C. although they may not then have been incorporated in the Psalter.

The psalms of ascent

Psalms 120–134 are a group of songs of ascent or pilgrim psalms. With the exception of Psalm 126, they are all written in the same five-beat measure. They are characterized by original and bold figures of speech and by an intense love for Jerusalem and the temple. As a rule, their spirit is joyous and hopeful. The didactic note is strong and their point of view is in general that of the Pharisees. They probably antedate the fierce Maccabean struggle and come from the latter part of the Greek period. As their title implies, they voice the feelings of the pilgrims as they resorted to the temple at their annual feasts.

The completion of the Psalter

Even as the revival of the Palestinian community, following the work of Nehemiah, inspired the first collection of psalms (2–41), so the Maccabean victories and the restoration of the temple service appear to have furnished the incentive to make new collections of psalms and to complete the canon of the Psalter. This concluding work was in all probability done during the peaceful, prosperous reign of Simon (143–135 B.C.). Contemporary records indicate that it was an age in which many new psalms were written and when great attention was given to the development of the temple ritual. This tendency was encouraged by the aged Simon, as is stated in I Maccabees $14^{12, 14, 15}$:

> He made peace in the land,
> And Israel rejoiced with great joy.
> Everyone sat under his own vine and fig tree,
> And there was no one to make them afraid.
> He was full of zeal for the law,
> And every lawless and wicked person he banished.
> He made the sanctuary glorious,
> And multiplied the vessels of the temple.

He probably also multiplied the temple singers and elaborated the song service. Israel had good cause to *sing to Jehovah a new song*, for he had *crowned the afflicted with victory*. The Psalter closes with their song of thanksgiving:

> Let the faithful exult in glory,
> Let them sing for joy on their beds.
> Let the high praises of God be in their mouth,

And a two-edged sword in their hand,
To execute vengeance upon the heathen,
And punishment on the peoples,
To bind their kings with chains,
Their nobles with fetters of iron,
To execute on them the judgment written;
It is an honor for all his faithful ones. (Ps. 149^{5-9}.)

Thus the evidence is conclusive that the Psalter has a history as long and complex as the Old Testament itself. Certain of its older poems may come from the days of David, about 1000 B.C. Its later psalms breathe the warlike spirit of the Maccabean age. It represents the growth of at least eight centuries and the work of fully one hundred poets. Back of it lie two millenniums of Semitic religious history; but the psalms themselves, with few exceptions, come from the four centuries and a half that began with the destruction of Jerusalem in 586 B.C. They record the inspired insight, the dauntless courage, and the profound spiritual experiences of the noble souls who faced the cruel persecutions and the great crises of the Persian, Greek, and Maccabean periods. Born in stress and struggle, they have a unique message and meaning for all who are in the stream of life.

THE HISTORY OF THE WISDOM LITERATURE

I

THE WORK OF ISRAEL'S WISE MEN OR SAGES

The basis of the work of the wise

THE desire to store up and to transmit to each succeeding generation the results of experience was strong in the mind of early man. Having found that a certain course of action brought disaster and another success, he was eager to profit by this hard-won knowledge and to impart it to his kindred and friends. Thus arose the earliest wisdom literature.

In the introduction to the *Instruction of Ptah-hotep*, the ancient Egyptian sage states that his purpose was to *speak to his son the words of those who hearken to the counsel of the men of olden time*. Ptah-hotep lived nearly fifty centuries ago, yet he spoke repeatedly *of the counsel of the men of olden time*. These allusions indicate that at this early day there was a large body of maxims embodying the experience of the sages of preceding generations. Ptah-hotep's purpose in transmitting the results of his own practical observation and experience in the form of proverbs to his son and disciples is also clearly stated: it was to *instruct the ignorant in the exact knowledge of fair-speaking*. He adds, *If you heed these things that I have said to you, all your plans will progress*. Like Israel's wisdom teachers, he declares that his teachings are *the glory of him who obeys, and shame of him who fails to keep them*.

Egyptian wise men

Ptah-hotep is an excellent example of the wise men or sages who flourished in Egypt at an early period. The names of several of them have been preserved: Imhotep, Ke'gemni, and Ameneruhe'et. They were the viziers, governors, or kings whose authority and reputation as men of affairs greatly enhanced in the eyes of their own and later generations the value of their practical teachings. About their names have gathered collections of early proverbs. Some undoubtedly came directly from the lips of these famous sages; others were probably gleaned by them or by later editors from *the words of counsel of the men of olden time*. Most of them had been committed to writing by 2000 B.C. They have been preserved because they were set as copy for the pupils in the scribal schools. By a fortunate accident these ancient copy books have survived. In many points their teachings closely resemble those of the Hebrew wise. They deal with duties toward superiors, equals, and inferiors, and the judicious use of the tongue. In general they give practical advice as to how to act prudently in all the different relations of that ancient life. They are more egoistic than social. Class points of view and prejudices are much in evidence. The thought is often crude, but it represents the beginning of that wisdom teaching that reached its culmination on the lips of Jesus, *the greater than Solomon*.

Teachings of Ptah-hotep

Among the more significant teachings of Ptah-hotep are the following:

If you find a wise man in his time, a leader of understanding more excellent than yourself, bend your arms and bow your back.

If you find a wise man in his time, a poor man and not your equal, be not overbearing against him when he is unfortunate.

If you are insignificant, follow an able man and all your proceedings shall be good before the god.

If you are a leader, hear quietly the speech of the petitioner. He who is suffering wrong desires that his heart be cheered to do that on account of which he has come. . . . It is an ornament of the heart to hear kindly.

Established is the man whose standard is righteousness, who walks in its way. He ordinarily makes his fortune thereby, but the avaricious is houseless.

Be not avaricious in dividing. . . . Be not avaricious toward your kinsmen. Greater is the fame of the gentle than the harsh.

Repeat not a word of hearsay.

If you are a strong man, establish respect for yourself by wisdom and by quietness of speech.

If you become great after you were little, and get possessions after you were formerly poor in the city . . . be not proud-hearted because of your wealth. It has come to you as a gift of the god.

Do not practise corruption of children.

Let your face be bright as long as you live.

Wise men among the Babylonians

The quiet, contemplative life of Egypt furnished a congenial atmosphere for the sages. Wit, versatility, and culture were always highly prized by the early Egyptians. The Babylonians, on the contrary, were an active commercial people, more intent on developing their laws and legal institutions than in listening to the teachings of sages. In directing their lives, they also depended not so much on practical maxims and counsel as upon oracles, omens, and magic, or else upon definitely formulated laws. Hence the wise men of Babylon were not the sages but the magicians, the priests, and the lawgivers. There are suggestions, however, that the sages were not entirely lacking in Babylonian life. On the back of one of the creation tablets is a reference to this class:

Let the elder enlighten,
Let the wise, the learned meditate together,
Let the father rehearse, make the son apprehend.

Also, in the second volume of Assyrian texts edited by Sir Henry Rawlinson are found certain proverbs and riddles that were used in instructing the pupils in the schools of the scribes; but among the hundreds of thousands of inscriptions that have come from the ruins in the Tigris-Euphrates valley only a comparatively few examples of this type of literature have yet been discovered. Pre-eminent among these is the noble proverb:

You shall not slander, but speak kindly,
You shall not speak evil, but show mercy.
Him who slanders and speaks evil,
The god, Shamash, will punish.

You shall not speak unrestrainedly, but guard your lip;
When you are angry do not speak at once;
If you speak hastily, you will repent later,
And in silence will feel remorse.

In Arabia and adjacent lands

The Arabian desert was the natural home of the Semitic wise man and his proverbs. The *wisdom of the children of the East* was well known to the editor of Kings (I Kgs. 4^{30}). The background of the book of Job is the desert east of the Jordan. Eliphaz, the eldest of Job's friends, comes from the Edomite city of Teman, famous for its wisdom teachers (cf. Jer. 49^{7}). The life of the nomad was conducive to meditation. Moreover he was constantly confronted by crises which required quick and prudent action. His unstable mode of living made it necessary for him to make many important decisions. The hard struggle for a livelihood sharpened his wits. Having no settled place of abode, he was obliged to treasure his valuable, hard-won experience in the form of concise, easily remembered proverbs. Hence to-day in Palestine and in all lands under the influence of the Arabian desert proverbs and epigrammatic maxims are constantly upon the lips of the people. Thus, under the old Turkish régime a supernumerary of the Beirut customs office (whom we employed to rescue our books from the storehouse where they had been placed by the customs officials to await the final Judgment Day) when asked whether the usual bribe would have delivered us from all annoyance, replied: "When a man has bread in his mouth he cannot speak." At every turn in the East the apt maxim takes the place of the ordinary direct statement. Men learn instinctively to think and to express their thoughts in the characteristic terms of the ancient wisdom teachers.

Wisdom thought in early Israel

The history of the wise in Israel is recorded only in barest outlines through chance references in the historical and prophetic books and in the inferences that may be drawn from the wisdom books themselves. Close proximity and contact with Egypt on the one side and with the life of the Arabian desert on the other undoubtedly gave a great and constant impetus to this peculiar type of thought. Similar conditions and needs in each of these lands also gave rise to similar ideas and forms of teaching. A few proverbs are found in the earliest historical books (*e. g.*, I Sam. 24^{13}). Jotham, in his beautiful fable (Judg. $9^{8\text{-}15}$), and Samson, in his famous riddle (Judg. $14^{14\text{-}18}$), employed the literary forms that characterized the teaching of the later wise.

In the days of the united Hebrew commonwealth there were many women

The famous wise women

who were famed for their practical wisdom. David's strong-minded commander, Joab, employed the services of a certain wise woman of Tekoa to aid him in securing the recall of the banished Absalom. By means of a skilfully devised recital of her personal woes she aroused the sympathies of David. After he had committed himself to the principles of mercy rather than of stern justice, she demanded that he apply the same to the case of his own son. Thus she won her point (II Sam. 14^{1-21}). Her language has the peculiar flavor of the wisdom teachers and her words reveal a remarkably keen insight into human motives.

Later another wise woman aided Joab. While he was besieging the rebellious city of Abel-beth-maacah, that stood at the head of the Jordan valley, she sought an interview with him and secured favorable terms. Then *she went and advised all the people in her wisdom* and persuaded them to surrender (II Sam. 20^{15-22}).

The wise men in David's court

Absalom's rebellion also brought to the front two counsellors who enjoyed a great reputation for sagacity and skill in giving advice. Ahithophel the Gilonite, David's former adviser, went over to Absalom. The Hebrew historian states that his counsel in *those days was as if one inquired of the word of God—so was all the counsel of Ahithophel regarded by David and Absalom* (II Sam. 16^{23}). By appealing to the pride and fear of Absalom, Hushai, David's other counsellor and faithful friend, succeeded in thwarting the wiser counsels of Ahithophel. Chagrin because his advice was rejected drove Ahithophel to deliberate suicide.

Solomon's wisdom

In a court where practical wisdom was esteemed thus highly Solomon was reared. His close alliance with Egypt may also have strengthened his ambition to become famous as a wise man. To judge from the traditions that survive, his wisdom was of the type that from earliest times had been highly prized in the Arabian desert and in the land of the Nile. It represented sagacity, insight, and clear judgment. It is well illustrated by the familiar story of the method by which Solomon determined who was the real mother of the baby that the contending mothers brought before him (I Kgs. 3^{16-28}). The life of the Arabian desert presents many striking parallels. Two women were brought before a famous judge among the Arabs, charged with shamelessness. After listening to the charge, the judge pronounced the following sentence: *Let her who is innocent of this charge throw aside her garment and stand before me naked.* One woman unhesitatingly carried out the terms of the sentence. The other cast herself to the ground before the judge, crying, *Slay me instead.* It requires no imagination to determine which woman was declared innocent. According to the editor of Kings, Solomon's wisdom differed from that of Egypt and the Arabians not in character but degree. There is not the slightest evidence that it had an ethical, social, or religious quality. It was in harmony with his splendor-loving, superficial character. Although he enjoyed the reputation of being the wisest man of his day, his tyrannical, disastrous policy wrought only ruin for himself and his nation. He was sadly lacking in the deeper moral and spiritual qualities that were essential to a really wise rule. In fact he proved one of the most foolish rulers that ever sat on the throne of Israel.

Solomon's reputation as a proverb writer

In the days of the Babylonian exile, when the editor of the book of Kings lived, the tradition was current that Solomon was the author of three thousand proverbs and at least five hundred songs. The tradition also adds that *he spoke of different varieties of trees from the cedar that is in Lebanon to the hyssop that springs out of the wall; he spoke also of beasts, of birds, of creeping things, and of fishes.* In the light of the maxims found in the book of Proverbs (*e. g.*, $6^{5, 6-8}$) it is probable that the reference is to the comparisons drawn from the characteristics of plants and animals. There is no valid reason for concluding that Solomon was a pioneer in modern scientific research. His proverbs, like the peculiar type of wisdom for which he was famous, doubtless resembled closely the secular proverbs which have come down from the early Egyptian sages. In the light of recent discoveries it is not improbable that he not only imported an Egyptian wife, but proverbs as well from the land of the Nile. According to I Kings 10^{22} his policy was to bring into Israel all kinds of foreign products. His reputation for worldly wisdom, his fame as a framer of proverbs and songs, and the dazzling splendor of his court fully explain why later generations regarded him as the author not only of the book of Proverbs, but of most of the wisdom books of the Old Testament and Apocrypha. Moses, David, Solomon, and Isaiah represent respectively the legal, psalm, wisdom, and prophetic literature of the Old Testament. To them were attributed practically all later anonymous writings. The prestige of their names was thus used to give authority to these late books. It is possible that some of Solomon's proverbs have found a place in the book of Proverbs, although it is not demonstrable. It is certain that the great majority of them came from later and more spiritually minded sages who lived in the light of the noble teachings of prophets like Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, and Jeremiah.

The wise before the exile

Only a few references are found to the wise during the period of the divided Hebrew states, but these few are significant. While Isaiah stood practically alone in the wars of 705–701 B.C. in opposing rebellion against Assyria, he declares in the name of Jehovah:

> I will proceed to do a thing so wonderful and astonishing,
> That the wisdom of the wise men shall perish.

The reference is to the catastrophe that was soon to fall upon Judah at the hands of the Assyrians. Evidently the wise men of Isaiah's day were, like Ahithophel and Hushai, the advisers of rulers and people. Their functions are still political and secular, and at times they resorted to political policies which the prophet did not approve.

The same opposition existed in Jeremiah's day:

> How can ye say, "We are wise and the teaching of Jehovah is with us"?
> But, behold, the deceptive pen of the scribes has rendered it deceptive.
> The wise men are put to shame, they are dismayed and taken!
> They reject the word of Jehovah, and what wisdom have they?

Here the contrast is strongly drawn between that human wisdom, based on observation and experience, which was the possession of the early sages and

the messages of the prophets who were inspired by a sense of the divine presence and command. The fundamental point on which Jeremiah differed from the wise men of his day appears to have been in regard to the national policy. If so, it indicates that the wise still confined their attention chiefly to questions of state. In one important passage in Jeremiah they are brought into clear comparison with the other classes of Israel's teachers. It is in connection with the popular attempts to silence Jeremiah. His assailants urge that, if they put him to death, *teaching will not perish from the priest, nor counsel from the wise, nor the word from the prophet* (18[18]). As in the days of Ahithophel, *counsel* is the peculiar contribution of the wise, and there is no evidence that it was concerned with anything except questions of state and the practical problems of daily life.

Their strength and limitations

In Ezekiel 7[26] the same three classes of teachers are again spoken of together, but the term *elders* is substituted for *the wise*. The reference confirms the conclusion that the pre-exilic wise as a rule, like the sages of Egypt and in the court of David, were men not only of maturity but also of authority in the state. Their position gave them unusual opportunities for studying life and for developing intelligent, practical judgment. It also imparted great weight to their utterances, so that, like the words of Ahithophel, they were regarded as of almost equal authority with the divine oracles. The evidence is also clear that in the days of Isaiah and Jeremiah the people frequently followed the counsel of the wise, disregarding the prophetic teachings; but before the sages could wisely guide mankind they had to gain, in the painful school of sorrow, a deeper insight into truth and the inspiration of a nobler moral purpose.

Influence of the Babylonian exile on the wise

The Babylonian exile cut athwart all of Israel's life and institutions. Among the many changes that it effected was a fundamental transformation of the aims and methods of the sages. With the destruction of the Hebrew monarchy and national independence, the political problems, which hitherto had largely engrossed the attention of the wise, suddenly vanished. As a result, they turned their attention from the rulers and powerful leaders of their race to the individual, to the common man of the street, and to the children who were to be the ancestors of the rising generations. No individual nor problem, however humble, was beyond the circle of their interest and sympathy. Thus, the advisers of rulers became the counsellors of the needy and tempted. Instead of race or class interest, love for mankind became the guiding motives for the work of the later sages. The exile and all the woes which followed in its train had softened the hearts of these alert, brilliant leaders of the Jewish race. Henceforth a strong ethical and religious note characterizes all of their teaching. Narrow racial points of view and interests disappear. It is significant that Israel is not once mentioned in the book of Proverbs. It is to man they speak, and especially to youth, to men and women in the making.

The period of their greatest activity

Henceforth the social and religious teachings of the prophets, which the earlier sages had rejected, were accepted as the foundation upon which they built. The principles which the earlier prophets had proclaimed to the nation were by these later teachers interpreted in terms clearly intelligible to

the young and ignorant, and were made the guides in the development of individual character. Also in the days following the exile the priests largely ceased to be teachers of the people and devoted themselves to the details of the ritual. The voice of the prophets was also heard less and less. The result was that the sages assumed the task of the earlier teachers. From the middle of the Persian period (about 450 B.C.) until the Maccabean struggle (169 to 165 B.C.), which introduced an entirely new epoch in Israel's history, the Jewish sages were the chief social, ethical, and spiritual guides of their race. To their patient, tireless, self-sacrificing work is largely due the preservation of Israel's faith during these critical years. They indeed saved the soul of Judaism and prepared it for the new crisis which came during the Maccabean struggle. They also bore on the torch of Hebrew learning, which they in turn handed over to the scribes and rabbis, who from 165 B.C. on became the chief teachers of the race. To the rabbis they imparted that profound interest in the individual and that emphasis on social and moral values which partially delivered the work and writings of these later teachers from the blight of triviality and ceremonialism.

Source of their authority

The Jewish wise men or sages were not a caste like the priests, nor did they, like the prophets, feel a direct, divine call to their work. Keen, sympathetic observation and broad experience were their teachers. Most of them appear to have been men of mature years when they began to teach. The motive which impelled them was their deep interest in the welfare of society and especially of the youth with whom they came into contact.

Their aims

The first six verses of the first chapter of the book of Proverbs contain a remarkably clear statement of their aims. They were concerned in imparting information and wisdom to the ignorant with the end that they might live wisely and uprightly. They also aimed to develop discretion in the young and inexperienced. Finally they sought to inspire and direct their intelligent disciples that they might increase in learning and be able to understand and appropriate the teachings of the wise. Their ultimate aim, therefore, was to develop intelligent, prudent, and efficient men and women, and in so doing to lay the foundations for a perfect social order.

Places where they taught

The wise were primarily teachers rather than preachers. Ordinarily their disciples appear to have sought them out in their homes or in the temple courts, where they probably, like the later scribes, were to be found teaching the circle of eager disciples who gathered close about them. Ben Sira has given us a vivid picture of the ideal of the pupil in the school of the wise:

> Stand in the assembly of the elders,
> And whoever is wise, cleave to him,
> Desire to hear every discourse,
> And let not a wise proverb escape you.
>
> Look for him who is wise and seek him out earnestly,
> And let your foot wear out his threshold (6^{34-36}).

Ordinarily the Hebrew sages appear to have taught their disciples in the open spaces beside the city gates where old and young were gathered together to discuss public and private questions.

Obstacles in their path

Sometimes their intense zeal to reach the ignorant and unreceptive led them to adopt the methods of the prophet and address the assembled throng:

> Wisdom cries aloud in the streets,
> Raises her voice in the open places.
> On the top of the walls she calls,
> At the entrance of the city gates she says:
> "How long, O ignorant, will you love ignorance,
> And scoffers delight in their scoffing,
> And the stupid hate knowledge?" (Pr. 1^{20-22}).

Ordinarily the eastern world is highly appreciative of the teachings of its sages, but these and many other references in the book of Proverbs indicate that the Jewish wise men were often confronted by indifference or contemptuous disregard for the pearls of wisdom which they cast so freely before their disciples. For that reason the first nine chapters of the book of Proverbs are devoted to an earnest commendation of the teaching of the wise. They realized that the first essential was to create a receptive attitude in the minds of their disciples, and a clear appreciation of the practical value of the wisdom which they were striving to inculcate.

Principles underlying their work

The Jewish sages anticipated many of the principles which are regarded as fundamental in modern education. Their profound teaching:

> Train up a child in the way he should go,
> And when he is old he will not depart from it (Pr. 22^{6}),

is the basis of the modern religious education movement. To the parents they intrusted the education of their children. The sages devoted much of their time and attention to training parents, that these responsible guardians of childhood might be qualified for their task. The earnestness with which the wise urged parents not to spare the rod reveals how important they deemed that task. The wise appear to have devoted their attention primarily to adolescent youth. From the age of about twelve, the sensible and well-nurtured Jewish boy began to sit at the feet of the sages, who taught:

> Walk with the wise and you will be wise,
> But he who associates with fools shall smart for it (Pr. 13^{20}).

Before their disciples they set up the lofty ideal:

> A wise man is better than a strong man,
> And a man who has knowledge than he who has strength (Pr. 24^{5}).

Meaning of the Hebrew word wisdom

Wisdom represented in the thought of the sages the goal of all education. The word comes from a Semitic root which means in the Assyrian *to know*, and in the Arabic *to be firm, fixed, free from defect.* In the teaching of the Hebrew wise it represents not only knowledge, but also the power to gain knowledge and to use it skilfully and effectively. Thus in Isaiah 3^{3} and Ezekiel 27^{8} the Hebrew word *wise* describes a man skilled in technical work.

In Genesis 41[33, 39], II Samuel 14[20], and elsewhere, it describes a man skilled in administering public affairs; in II Samuel 13[3], one who is shrewd and cunning in dealing with men; while throughout the book of Proverbs it is the designation of a man who in all his public and private acts is governed by the highest religious and ethical principles. With the wise the mere acquisition of knowledge was never an end in itself. They aimed to make men rather than human encyclopædias. Their disciples were tested alone by their fruits.

The sages also taught that God was the supreme Teacher: The divine teacher

> My son, reject not the instruction of Jehovah,
> And do not weary of his reproof;
> For whom he loveth he reproveth,
> Even as a father the son in whom he delights (Pr. 3[11, 12]).

Moreover, they taught that religion is the foundation of all wisdom:

> The fear of Jehovah is the beginning of wisdom,
> But fools despise wisdom and instruction (Pr. 1[7]).

The phrase *fear of Jehovah,* here, in the Psalms, and in later Jewish literature, is equivalent to our modern term *religion.* It is significant, therefore, that the sages placed this fundamental principle at the beginning of the book of Proverbs. They were intensely interested in all that concerned the well-being and development of the individual; but education which was not truly religious had in their eyes no value nor attraction.

The Jewish sages aimed in the book of Proverbs to hold up before their disciples a composite portrait of an ideal man. It is not an impossible, wishy-washy saint that they have here portrayed, but a man of red blood and practical ability. He is a faithful husband, free from the vices of intemperance and social immorality, devoted to his wife and the interests of the household. All men find in him a true friend, a wise counsellor, a forgiving foe, a neighbor charitable toward others' faults. He is an upright, diligent, and effective business man who enjoys the respect of the community and well-deserved prosperity. He is a just and considerate official, actively championing and protecting the weak and defenseless. He is well informed, gifted with keen insight, and genuinely interested in his fellow men. He is always generous toward the needy and helpful to those in distress and trouble. Above all he is sane, well balanced, and guided by a simple, strong faith in God and by the desire to be loyal in every thought and act to his divine Friend. The abiding happiness is his which comes through living a normal, upright life. The portrait is well worthy of careful study and thoughtful imitation. The ideal man as portrayed in the book of Proverbs

In a very true sense the Jewish sages were the pioneers who prepared the way for the later Christian education movement. Jesus recognized this debt when he declared in speaking of himself, that *a greater than Solomon is here* (Mt. 12[42]). Also, in his reply to the charge that he mingled freely with all classes, he maintained: *Yet wisdom is vindicated by her deeds* (Lk. 7[35]).

Jesus' attitude toward the teachings of the wise

There are many indications that Jesus was a close and appreciative student of the wisdom literature of his race. His interest, like that of the sages, centred not in the nation, nor in certain classes, but in the individual. His aims and those of the Jewish wise men were practically identical. At many points the great Teacher reiterated or emphasized the principles already laid down by these earlier teachers (cf., *e. g.*, Mt. 5^{42} and Pr. 3^{28}). His teaching that *whoever shall give a cup of water to one of these little ones in the name of a disciple shall in no wise lose his reward* (Mt. 10^{42}) is but a more personal and vivid declaration of the great truth embodied in Proverbs 19^{17}:

> He who has pity on the poor lends to Jehovah,
> And his good deed will he repay him.

Jesus taught in Matthew 6^{25} and elsewhere the filial attitude of trust expressed in the noble Proverb (16^{3}):

> Commit your works unto Jehovah,
> And your purposes shall be established.

Many of Jesus' figures of speech are taken from the lips of the earlier wise. Thus, for example, his figure of the way (Mt. $7^{13, 14}$) constantly recurs in the book of Proverbs (*e. g.*, 4^{26}, 6^{23}, $8^{32, 34}$, 9^{6}). The germinal ideas and figures that appear in many of Jesus' familiar parables are found in Proverbs. Thus, for example, the parable of the two houses, the one built on the sand and the other on the rock, is suggested by Proverbs 10^{25} (cf. 12^{7}):

> When the whirlwind passes the wicked is no more,
> But the righteous is an everlasting foundation.

The Christian book of Proverbs

The epistle of James has rightly been called the Christian book of Proverbs. It is not an epistle, but a loosely connected collection of wise maxims inspired by the principles that Jesus proclaimed and the spirit of love and democracy that he infused into his followers.

II

THE LITERARY ACTIVITY OF ISRAEL'S WISE MEN OR SAGES

Early wisdom oral not written

Israel's wise men or sages were primarily teachers and not writers. In the earlier days they apparently depended wholly upon oral instruction and aimed to impress their teachings directly upon the minds of their disciples. To this end they put these teachings in such compact literary moulds that they could be easily treasured in the memory. They also had in mind the immediate needs of the ignorant and inexperienced with whom they came into personal contact. It was only in the mature and more contemplative period of their activity that the wise as a class committed their teachings to writing.

Comparison earliest literary form

Possibly the earliest literary form in which the wise set forth their teaching was the similitude or comparison. The Hebrew word for proverb (*māshāl*) means *to put things side by side*, that is, *to make a comparison*. It is closely related to the Greek-derived word *parable* which describes the presentation of a thought by means of an illustration or story. *Like Nimrod a mighty hunter before the Lord* (Gen. 10^{9}) is perhaps the oldest fragment of wisdom literature in the Old Testament. Proverbs 25^{25} contains a characteristic proverb that is the outgrowth of the tendency to present an important truth in terms of common physical experience:

> As cold water to a thirsty man,
> So is good news from a far country.

Proverb the outgrowth of experience

The proverb is the basal literary unit in all wisdom literature. It presents in the most concise and epigrammatic form the crystallized results of experience. A popular proverb possesses authority because it is the outgrowth of common experience and has the indorsement of the successive generations that have preserved it. Its transmission from mouth to mouth subjected it to a constant process of attrition, which in time wore away all needless words and tended to give it a compact, epigrammatic form. This process is illustrated in the case of certain proverbs which have been preserved both in their older, more verbose, and in their later, more concise form. The older Hebrew literature contains a few examples of the one-line proverb, as for example the proverb of the ancients, which David quotes in I Samuel 24^{13}: *From the wicked comes forth wickedness.* But all of the proverbs found in the wisdom books of the Old Testament are poetic in form. Poetry was the most natural medium for conveying thought among all primitive peoples. Rhythm of sound or thought is ever an efficient aid to the memory. Further-

more, the presentation of the practical teaching in dual form tended to emphasize and make clear the thought.

Origin of proverbs

The majority of the biblical proverbs are orphans. The origin of most of them is unrecorded. A few of them, like the proverb, *Is Saul among the prophets?* clearly go back to some historic incident (cf. I Sam. 10^{10-12} and 19^{18-24}). Some were probably first presented in the form of riddles. Thus, for example, Proverbs 16^{24} may well have been suggested by the question, *What is as sweet as honey?* and its answer, *Pleasant discourse, for it is sweet to the soul and medicine to the bones.* Proverbs 22^{1}, with its emphasis on the value of a good name, may go back to the question, *What is worth more than riches?* Similarly the question, *What is like seizing a dog by the ears?* may originally have introduced the answer, *Meddling with a quarrel not your own.* The great majority, however, of the maxims in the book of Proverbs, clearly come from the lips of once famous, but now unknown sages. In many proverbs the language reflects the point of view of these venerable teachers:

> My son, if you are wise I shall be glad,
> I shall rejoice when you speak right things.
> Buy the truth and sell it not,
> Wisdom, instruction, and understanding ($23^{16,\ 23}$).

Use of paradox

The sages knew the value of presenting their teachings in a striking, thought-provoking form. Like Jesus, they appreciated the value of the paradox. Thus in Proverbs $26^{4,\ 5}$ they developed the paradox by putting two proverbs together. Each contained a valuable teaching, and yet, when placed side by side, they seem to present a direct contradiction. The reader in explaining this seeming contradiction would inevitably have fixed in his mind the truth conveyed by each:

> Answer not a fool according to his folly,
> Lest you also become like him.
> Answer a fool according to his folly,
> Lest he be wise in his own conceit.

Gnomic essays

Notwithstanding the limitations of the gnomic type of literature, the wise succeeded in discussing the important questions in which they were interested with remarkable thoroughness. They accomplished this end by putting side by side proverbs dealing with the same theme. Each verse or couplet is a unit by itself, and yet together they present the practical conclusions of the sages on such themes as the proper treatment of the fool (Pr. 26^{1-12}), the characteristics and fate of the lazy man (26^{13-17}), or the woes which attend the drunkard (23^{29-35}). In Proverbs 31^{10-31} the characteristics of the efficient housewife are set forth in a beautiful, alphabetical poem. In the same way in the opening chapters of the book of Proverbs the value of wisdom is proclaimed in a series of what might be called gnomic essays.

Book of Ecclesiastes

The next stage in the development of the wisdom literature is illustrated by the book of Ecclesiastes. Here the question of what is worth while is discussed both from the practical and philosophical point of view. While much

of the thought is set forth in proverbial form, the author refuses to be bound down by the proverb unit. *Philosophical essay* or *homily* perhaps best describes this product of late Jewish wisdom.

Wisdom literature at its height

The culminating literary product of the wise is the book of Job. Here the gnomic unit used is combined in such a masterly way that the profoundest and most difficult problems of human philosophy are treated with amazing thoroughness. Different speakers are introduced to set forth the many different interpretations of the problem of innocent suffering. The whole is suffused with a personal, emotional element. The result is the greatest lyric drama of antiquity.

The book of Proverbs

The most typical product of the wisdom school is the book of Proverbs. This elaborate anthology is in reality a library in itself. Its various superscriptions suggest its long literary history. The chief and probably the oldest section of the book is found in 10^{1}–22^{16}. It bears the superscription, *These are the Proverbs of Solomon.* They deal with the social evils denounced by prophets like Amos and Isaiah.

Its date

Many references to a king, who is thought of as a native ruler, imply that certain, if not a majority, of these proverbs come from a period before the Babylonian exile while the Jews were still ruled by men of their own race. The absence of any reference to the exile confirms that impression. On the other hand, the absence of any allusions to idolatry and the presence of a class of scoffers suggest that many of them come from after the exile and that the collection as a whole was not made before the latter part of the Persian or the early part of the Greek period.

Divisions and authorship

The appendices in 22^{17}–24^{34} are not attributed to Solomon, but to the wise men as a class. The inference is that they come from a later period than the preceding collection. The term *proverb of Solomon* (cf. *psalm of David*) apparently describes a proverb which came from an early period, and was therefore attributed by popular belief to the early Hebrew ruler who was famous for his wisdom. The expansion of this tradition is illustrated by the fact that in the final superscription appended to the Proverbs (1^{1}) the entire book is described as, *The Proverbs of Solomon*, even though this testimony is belied by the contents of the proverbs themselves and by the direct statement of the superscriptions found within the book. The appendices in 22^{17}–24^{34} contain many repetitions of maxims found in the larger collection. This fact indicates that these later collections were gleaned in part from the same field. The allusions to commercial life, to the exiled Jews, and to the wide prevalence of intemperance point to the Greek period as the probable date when these smaller collections were added.

Egyptian origin of certain proverbs

New light upon the origin of certain biblical proverbs, and especially those in 22^{17}–24^{34}, has come from the ruins of ancient Egypt. In 1923 Sir Wallis Budge published in the *Second Series* of *Egyptian Hieratic Papyri* an Egyptian wisdom book, entitled, *The Teaching of Amenemope*, which may be dated about 1000 B. C. It is divided into thirty chapters and consists of popular proverbs. From a writing-tablet preserved in the Turin Museum we know that it was used as a text-book in the Egyptian schools twenty-five hundred years ago. The most interesting fact, however, is that nine of these proverbs

are, as Professor Adolph Erman has pointed out in the May, 1924, report of the Prussian *Academie der Wissenschaft*, almost word for word identical with maxims found in the biblical book of Proverbs. Seven of these are in the appendices in Proverbs 22^{17}–24^{34}, indicating that these later collections were probably made by a Jew living in Egypt during the Greek period, who drew freely from the famous *wisdom of the Egyptians*.

Chapters 25–29

The finest proverbs in the book are found in chapters 25–29. The superscription states that these proverbs were transcribed by the scribes of Hezekiah, king of Judah, but they still bear the traditional title, *Proverbs of Solomon*. The word meaning to *transcribe* is found only in late Hebrew. Its presence implies that the superscription is not earlier than the Greek period. The rulers who figure in these proverbs are oppressors rather than champions of the people, suggesting Persian or Greek, rather than Jewish, potentates. The literary form of these proverbs is also more complex than the simple couplets found in the first large collection (10^{1}–22^{16}). The earlier part of the Greek period is probably the historical background of most of them.

Later additions

To this collection or collections were added in later days the preface contained in $1^{2\text{-}6}$, the elaborate prologue in 1^{7}–9^{18} describing wisdom, and finally the long appendices in chapters 30 and 31. The corrupt city life reflected in the prologue and the philosophical proverbs and Aramaisms that appear in the appendices indicate that they all probably come from the latter part of the Greek period, although probably from different writers and editors.

Summary

The book of Proverbs, therefore, represents the growth of five or six centuries. Possibly some of the maxims actually come from Solomon. Many of the proverbs in this section were probably long current on the lips of people before they were collected and edited. It is doubtful whether any part of the book was committed to writing before the exile. Then it took form in successive collections. Proverbs in its final form may be dated about 200 B.C. It represents not the work of one, but probably a score at least, if not a hundred or more different writers. It is the great storehouse of Israel's practical wisdom, but like the Koran and many other products of oriental thought, its contents must be classified before they can be successfully studied and utilized by modern western students.

III

THE HISTORY AND POINT OF VIEW OF THE BOOK OF ECCLESIASTES

Its atmosphere

THE sensation in passing from the book of Proverbs to Ecclesiastes is akin to that which one experiences when he steps out of a brilliant, oriental sunset into a dimly lighted, mysterious subterranean passage. Teachings which have seemed obvious and firmly established suddenly become vague and uncertain. Dark doubts and an atmosphere of pessimism confront the reader on every side. The problems which haunt the pages of Omar Khayyam, Schopenhauer, and the Russian pessimists are constantly being presented for consideration.

The fascination of the book

Yet few Old Testament books have made a deeper impression on English literature and thought than Ecclesiastes. The French scholar Renan declared that it was the most charming book ever written by a Jew. Its fascination lies in part in the very fact that it belongs to that literature of pessimism and revolt which has always had a unique attraction for certain types of mind. Above all it lays bare the tragedy of a human soul unillumined by spiritual insight nor warmed by unselfish service. The author also has a forceful, epigrammatic manner of presenting his conclusions, which goes far to explain why his teachings have been more widely quoted than those of almost any other Old Testament teacher.

Its theme

The problems discussed in the book of Ecclesiastes are also of perennial human interest. Of all the Old Testament wisdom writings, it approximates most nearly in its point of view to that of the Greek philosophical literature. The author seeks to face squarely the whole of reality. He struggled valiantly with the problem of what is of value in human life. He even rises to the consideration of the ever-recurring question of whether life itself is really worth living. At the very beginning he states his pessimistic thesis: *All is vanity.* In succession he presents his negative conclusions regarding the various sources that are supposed to yield satisfaction.

Date

It is not strange that the book of Ecclesiastes was the last to find a place in the Old Testament canon. The surprising fact is that it was included at all. It is known that Antiochus the Great became king of Syria when only seven, and in 198 B.C. wrested Palestine from Ptolemy V. If these identifications are correct, $10^{16, 17}$ expresses the enthusiasm of the Jews over this transfer of power to Antiochus. It also suggests, as a definite date for Ecclesiastes, the years immediately following 200 B.C. This dating is in perfect accord with the other evidence.

The historical background

The last half of the third and the first half of the second century B.C. was the darkest and most corrupt period in the history of the Jews of Palestine. Their home-land was the bone of contention between the rival rulers of Egypt and Syria. Drunkenness and licentiousness were regnant in the court of Egypt, and the favorites of irresponsible despots preyed on the people of Palestine. Jewish tax-collectors, like Joseph the son of Tobias, fattened upon their fellow countrymen and made their profession loathsome to the Jews. It was a selfish, sordid age, and the helpless Jews of Palestine saw only the corrupt and seamy side of Hellenistic civilization. This dreary background is reflected in the writings of the original author of Ecclesiastes. It also goes far to explain the hopeless pessimism that pervades the sections that come from his pen.

Personality of Koheleth

The personality of the author of Ecclesiastes is clearly revealed in his writings. He either bore the name or assumed the title Koheleth. The word means one who calls together or addresses a popular assembly. Whatever be his faults, Koheleth was certainly frank. In his revelations of his inner experiences, he rivals the modern realists. It is the frankness of old age, which has left behind all the pretenses and ideals of youthful years. His description of the failing powers of old age is one of the most brilliant passages in the world's literature and could have been written only by one who was witnessing the dissolution of his physical vigor. The peculiar quality of his pessimism is also that of extreme old age. As has been noted, it is not an attitude of bitterness, but one of calm hopelessness. It is the philosophy of physical weakness. The mere thought of toil and struggle tires him. His mind, however, is active, for his book abounds in brilliant epigrams.

His experiences

It is evident from 2^{1-8} that he had great wealth and had used it throughout his long life chiefly for his personal gratification. He knew, too, by bitter experience the limitations of money. He had learned that *the satiety of the rich does not let him sleep* (5^{12}). Also that the *eye is never satisfied with riches* (4^{8}). Evidently his selfish policy had won for him no friends. Even his domestic life appears to have been a tragedy. On rare occasions in his varied life he had found a true man, but never a faithful woman (7^{28}). Sadly he exclaims: *I found something more bitter than death—a woman whose heart is snares and nets and her hands are fetters* (7^{26}). Possibly the sequel is a part of his philosophical autobiography, *Whoever pleases God shall escape her; but the sinner shall be taken by her*, or it may be the sarcastic addition of a later sage. In any case, it is probably a true reflection of Koheleth's experience.

Koheleth tells without reservation or apology of his selfish pursuit of pleasure and of his unrestrained self-indulgence, but of one fact he is proud: he never lost his head: *my wisdom remained with me* (2^{9}). Withal it is not an admirable character that is here revealed, but it is consistent and a typical product of the corrupt, materialistic third century before Christ.

His aim in writing

Ecclesiastes is the most dramatic, as well as the saddest, book in the Bible. Koheleth, with one foot in the grave and with his physical energies flickering like a burnt-out wick, writes, even though all toil for him is painful, that he may pass on to youth the results of his experience, negative though they are. There is no doubt about his purpose: he desired to warn man not to

expect much in life. He believed that he who anticipates nothing has no disappointments. Also he had a positive purpose. He had found that certain experiences, such as constructive work, yield a passing pleasure. Likewise youth has certain joys that are beyond the grasp of old age. His advice, therefore, is to enjoy the valid pleasures that each stage in life offers, and not to wait, as many do, until it is forever too late.

Literary character of Ecclesiastes

Most of the Old Testament books are shot through with a strongly personal element. This lyrical quality is a large part of their charm. Preeminently is this true of Ecclesiastes. It is a *journal intime*. In a series of loosely connected essays, Koheleth gives the results of his own personal observation and experience. Some of the brilliant proverbs, with which his writings are freely interspersed, are of his own coinage; others were evidently gleaned from the storehouse of the wise. The style passes easily from prose to poetry. These didactic essays culminate in the brilliant poem descriptive of youth and old age in 11^{9}–12^{8}. In a series of vivid pictures he portrays the gradual disintegration of man's material habitation until at last comes the final collapse and the oriental mourners go up and down the street, raising their shrill cries of lamentation.

Koheleth's idea of God and of the universe

Koheleth's thought is cast in Jewish moulds, and yet he breaks away from many of the accepted points of view of Judaism. His approach to the problems of the universe reveals the Greek atmosphere in which he lived. In certain respects he anticipates modern scientific methods. He accepts nothing on the basis of authority. He trusts only his own observation and experience. He recognizes the fixed order of the universe and the reign of unchanging laws ($1^{4\text{-}11}$, $3^{1\text{-}11}$, $8^{5\text{-}9}$). But to his aged, wearied eyes, these laws and the tireless, unvarying action of natural forces, bring not joy and confidence, but only ennui. He does not question God's existence and infinite power, but he finds in the merciless mechanism of nature no evidence of divine love and no opportunity for fellowship and co-operation with him. His religion is even colder and more cheerless than that of the modern mechanistic materialist, for he believed that God had *put ignorance in men's minds, so that they cannot find out from the beginning to the end the work that God is doing.*

Human life and organized society, as he viewed them, are equally unsatisfying. Men strive and toil instinctively for riches, knowledge, honor, and happiness, but in the end all these quests are fruitless. Society, too, is ruled by injustice and might, not right, as a rule prevails ($8^{2\text{-}15}$).

No belief in personal immortality

Koheleth's jaundiced view of life is largely due to his lack of any belief in personal immortality. In this, as in other respects, he is a forerunner of those staunch conservatives, the Sadducees, who held with their forefathers that there was no joyous life or development beyond the grave. *For the fate of man and of beasts is the same: as the one dies, so the other dies—all go to one place; all are from the dust and all return to dust* ($3^{19,\ 20}$). Having no appreciation of the sacredness or possibilities of human personality, Koheleth deems the dead, *who know absolutely nothing*, happier than those involved in the turmoil of life (4^{2}). It was to present a far different and nobler view that the apocryphal book entitled, *The Wisdom of Solomon*, was written.

Like every constitutional pessimist, Koheleth seems to take a certain grim

Things worth while

delight in painting life in its darkest colors. Grudgingly he admits, however, that it offers certain satisfactions which men should enjoy, as insects do the sunshine on a spring day. Nowhere does he recommend dissipation, for in the end it destroys rather than adds to a man's pleasure. Evidently he was influenced by the inherited morality as well as the religion of his race. The natural pleasures of youth, the joy of work and of married life are what he commends, for they have at least a temporary value. *Go, eat your food with joy and drink your wine with a merry heart, for God hath already approved your doing so. Let your garments be always white, and let not your head lack oil. Enjoy life with the woman whom you love all the days of the vain life which God gives you under the sun, for it is your portion in life and the reward of your toil under the sun* (9^{7-9}).

Sources of Koheleth's philosophy

Earlier interpreters of Ecclesiastes traced many of its ideas to the influence of the Stoic and Epicurean schools of Greek thought. There may have been such indirect influences, for Palestine in the third century B.C. was saturated with Hellenic culture; but it is evident that Koheleth was more directly influenced by the older Babylonian philosophy from which both of these great schools drew many of their ideas. The closest parallel to Ecclesiastes is found in the old Babylonian Gilgamesh Epic, which may be dated about 2000 B.C. It is addressed to the national hero:

> O Gilgamesh, fill indeed your belly,
> Day and night be joyful,
> Daily ordain gladness,
> Day and night rage and make merry,
> Let your garments be bright,
> Purify your head, bathe with water,
> Desire your children which your hand possesses,
> Enjoy a wife in your bosom,
> Peaceably do your work (cf. Barton, *Eccles.* 39, 40)

The later revision of Ecclesiastes

A philosophy which departed as widely as did that of Koheleth from the religion of his race and from the testimony of deeper spiritual experience could not stand unchallenged. Ecclesiastes in its present form confirms this conclusion. Certain earlier interpreters regarded it as the record of an ancient discussion regarding the real values in life similar to the debates between the rabbis recorded in the Talmud. In a sense this is true; but there is no evidence that Koheleth ever sat in the presence of his critics. Evidently his *silver cord was snapped and the golden bowl was broken* before they turned upon him. Possibly all this was in keeping with the deliberate intention of this brilliant cynic. It was inevitable that his pessimistic and, to a large extent, false philosophy of life should be attacked from many sides. Fully one-fourth of the present book records these attacks. Sometimes it is only a line denying pointblank one of Koheleth's extreme assertions. Sometimes it is in the form of elaborate poems describing the value of that wisdom which Koheleth rejected as only of secondary value (cf. $7^{11, 12}$, 9^{17}–10^{3}, 10^{8-15}).

Certain of these apparently contain very pointed arraignments of Koheleth and his pessimistic philosophy:

> The words of the wise spoken quietly
> Are more effective than the loud cry of an arch-fool!
> Wisdom is better than weapons,
> But one sinner destroys much good.
> A dead fly corrupts the perfumer's ointment,
> So a little folly destroys precious wisdom (9^{17}–10^{1}).

These comments evidently come from later sages. Others were added by Pharisaic moralists. They reflect a more orthodox, formal philosophy of life: *Because the sentence of an evil deed is not promptly executed, men are inclined to do wrong. But although a sinner does wrong persistently and goes on unpunished, I know that good fortune will come to those who revere God, but not to the wicked* ($8^{11, 12}$).

Even the words, *Remember your creator in the days of your youth* (12^{1}), give an altogether different turn to Koheleth's original teaching. Ben Sira knew the book of Ecclesiastes before it had been revised by the hands of later sages and Pharisees (cf. Barton, *Eccles.* 53–56); but to the contributions of these more orthodox critics it doubtless largely owes its place in the Old Testament canon.

The religious value of Ecclesiastes

The truth and value of these later comments and exhortations are obvious. The original sections of Ecclesiastes, however, lay bare the tragedy of a human soul. It is an oft-recurring tragedy. It is the tragedy of a life lived under the tyranny of materialism and selfishness. It illustrates the fatal consequences of the wrong approach to life, to humanity, and to God. Koheleth never found life, because he never lost it. He remained to the end a once-born man. Therefore, except for his brilliant thinking, he never rose above the level of the brute. There is not a grain of altruism in the entire book. Lacking altruism himself, he saw only the dark and seamy side of human character and life. Like many others, he was abnormally keen in detecting his own faults incarnate in others.

Ecclesiastes enables us to look into the souls of thousands of our fellow men. It also gives us a vivid picture of the consequences of giving free rein to similar tendencies innate in our own souls. Its value lies in the fact that vividly and with absolute frankness it presents the logical, inevitable results of cherishing a merely materialistic, selfish philosophy of life. Koheleth furnishes an excellent basis for the appreciation of the optimistic teachings of Ben Sira and of that deeper philosophy of life lived and proclaimed by the great Teacher of Nazareth.

IV

BEN SIRA'S GUIDE-BOOK TO RIGHT LIVING

The title

THE longest and in many ways the most interesting of the wisdom books comes from the Jewish sage, Ben Sira. It is commonly known as *Ecclesiasticus*. This name comes from the old Latin Bible and was used by Jerome in his Latin version. The title indicates that it was regarded by the early church as especially adapted to use for instruction in conduct. Indeed, its use in the *ecclesia* or church gave it this distinctive title. In most Greek manuscripts it is designated as, *The Wisdom of Jesus the Son of Sirach*. This title is probably an expansion of the original Hebrew designation, *The Wisdom of Jeshua Ben Sira*.

Its place in the canon

In the Latin and Greek Bibles Ecclesiasticus enjoyed equal authority with the other Old Testament books. It still holds this place in the Roman Catholic and Greek churches. In the Anglican church passages from Ecclesiasticus are still indicated for public reading. In the canon of the Old Testament, agreed upon by the Jews of Palestine about 90 A.D., Ecclesiasticus was not included. This exclusion was probably due to the fact that the name of the author and his relatively late date were known to those who formed the Old Testament canon. Unlike Ecclesiastes and Proverbs, it was not by implication or tradition connected with the revered name of Solomon. Until the beginning of the last century, in common with the other books of the Old Testament apocrypha, it was published in the family editions of the English Bible. The exclusion of the apocryphal books from the Protestant canon was not due to the action of any authoritative committee or council, but to the arbitrary action of the Bible societies. To-day the wisdom of their action is being seriously challenged by thoughtful biblical scholars throughout the Anglo-Saxon world.

Date

Ecclesiasticus, or as it is known from its Hebrew title, Ben Sira, is one of the few Jewish books that can be dated definitely. In the prologue to the Greek version, its translator describes himself as the grandson of Jesus, the son of Sirach. He states that he went to Egypt in the thirty-eighth year of King Euergetes. From contemporary writers we know that this ruler became king in 170 B.C., which fixes the date of the translator in 132 B.C. His grandfather must, therefore, have lived some time during the early part of the second century B.C. In 50[1] Ben Sira describes in enthusiastic terms the activities of the high priest Simon the son of Onias. References in the writings of the church historian Eusebius leave little doubt that this Simon lived between 200 and 175 B.C. Allusions to the prevalent Greek culture and the absence of any references to the Maccabean uprising which began in

169 B.C. confirm the evidence that Ben Sira lived and wrote between 200 and 175.

The historical and religious background is very similar to that of Ecclesiastes. References in Ben Sira indicate that the author was familiar with the writings of Koheleth. Strong currents of Hellenic and Hebrew thought were mingling and reacting in Palestine, as well as in the larger Greek world. Attracted by the allurements of Greek culture, many Jews were proving faithless to the religion of their fathers. It was a period when it was especially difficult to be broad and yet loyal to the ideals of Judaism. Ben Sira was one of the few Jewish writers of the age who succeeded. He speaks appreciatively of banquets and has no words of denunciation for the Greek types of philosophy which were current in Jerusalem, as well as in Alexandria. If he had lived in Athens or at the centres of Greek culture throughout southwestern Asia, he would probably, like Paul, have been found at times among the eager youth that thronged the lecture rooms of the Greek philosophers. The historical situation

In Ben Sira the vague, composite picture of the Jewish sage becomes clear and pulsating with life. He is the only Jewish sage of the olden days whose name we know. His name and many allusions in his writings indicate that he belonged to a well-known Jerusalem family. He was evidently a man of influence and probably of wealth. He appreciates the dignity of labor: Ben Sira himself

> Hate not laborious work
> Neither agriculture that the Most High hath ordained.

At the same time he speaks rather patronizingly of manual laborers. They are important, but far below the scribes in influence and significance:

> These are deft with their hands,
> And each is wise in his handiwork.
> But they are not inquired of in public council,
> And in the assembly they enjoy no patronage ($38^{31, 33}$).

Ben Sira lived at a period when the Jewish wise men were becoming scribes. They still retained the broad interests and points of view of the earlier sages. It was not until the beginning of the Christian era that the scribes focussed their attention largely upon the questions of the law. In 39^{1-11} Ben Sira has given a vivid picture of the scribe of his day. Incidentally he has probably painted a clear picture of himself. The portrait is well worthy of careful consideration: His training

> He searches out the wisdom of all the ancients,
> And is occupied in prophecies.
> He preserves the discourses of men of renown,
> And enters into the subtleties of parables.
> He seeks out the hidden meaning of proverbs,
> And is familiar with the dark things of parables.
> He serves among great men,
> And appears before a ruler.
> He travels in the land of alien nations,

And has tried both good and evil things among men.
He eagerly turns to the Lord who made him,
And before the Most High he makes supplication,
And opens his mouth in prayer,
And makes supplication for his sin.
If the Great Lord will,
He will be filled with the spirit of understanding.
He himself pours forth words of wisdom,
And gives thanks to the Lord in prayer.
He himself directs his counsel and knowledge,
And in their secrets he meditates.
He himself sets forth wise instruction,
And glories in the law of the covenant of the Lord.
Many praise his understanding,
Never shall it be blotted out.
His memorial shall not cease,
And his name shall live from generation to generation.

His experiences

From chance references in his writings, it is possible to trace in outline Ben Sira's training and experiences. Possibly in the closing chapter allowance must be made for the fond idealization of old age, and yet the passage (51^{13-17}) gives a vivid picture of this ancient teacher:

When I was yet young,
Before I travelled abroad,
I desired and sought out wisdom.
In my youth I made supplication in prayer;
And I will seek her out even to the end.
My foot trod in her footsteps,
From my youth I learned wisdom.
I bowed down mine ear a little and received her,
And much knowledge did I find.
Her yoke was joyous to me,
And to my teacher do I offer thanks.

To use Goethe's phrase, Ben Sira was trained in the stream of things. He listened intently to the teaching of the present, as well as of the past. He knew well the value of trained insight and experience. In 34^{10-13} he states that

He who has had no experience knows little,
But he who has travelled multiplies his skill.
In my travels have I seen much,
And many things have befallen me;
Often I was in mortal danger,
But was saved thanks to these things.

Here we have a character who reminds us in some ways of the energetic, cosmopolitan Paul, who especially attracted the young because of his various adventures and achievements, as well as through his glowing words and warm sympathy.

Sources of his wisdom

Ben Sira also drew much from the earlier teachers of his race. In the prologue to his book, he is aptly described by his grandson as "a lover of learning." He freely acknowledges his debt to the earlier teachers of his race:

> I, indeed, came last of all,
> As one who gleans after the grape-gatherers.
> By the blessing of God I made progress,
> And, as a grape-gatherer, filled my winepress.
> Consider that I labored not for myself alone,
> But for all those who seek instruction ($33^{16, 17}$).

As a teacher

Ben Sira was pre-eminently a teacher. His voice was undoubtedly heard in the public assemblies. In 33^{18} he declares:

> Hearken unto me, you great ones of the people,
> And you rulers of the congregation, give ear to me.

At times he taught privately as well as publicly:

> Hearken, my son, and receive my judgments,
> And refuse not my counsel (6^{23}).

Like the famous Greek poetess Sappho, he appears to have been the head of a preparatory school. In $51^{23, 24}$ he speaks of his house of instruction. Like a Greek philosopher, he extends an invitation to youth to become regular attendants on his lectures:

> Turn in to me, you who are unlearned,
> And lodge in my house of instruction.
> No longer will you lack all these things,
> And your souls be so sore athirst.

His exhortations to his pupils reveal the man:

> Hearken to my teachings, though you be but a few,
> And much silver and gold will you acquire thereby.
> Let me delight in my circle of hearers,
> And may you not be ashamed to sing my praise.
> Work your works before the end comes,
> And God will give you your reward in due time (51^{28-30}).

These concluding words frankly and clearly reveal the ambitions and aspirations of this great Jewish teacher. He preferred the intimacy of a few intelligent and receptive disciples rather than the applause of the unintelligent mob. In the appreciation and achievements of his disciples he found his true reward. In the light of modern oriental custom, it is easy to picture the scene: crosslegged on the floor or on a low divan sits the venerable sage. About him

in a semicircle on the floor are his disciples, intently listening as he pours out the result of his study, observation, and experience. The earnest spirit of the teacher permeates the ancient classroom. Ample opportunity was doubtless given for questions and answers, for Ben Sira's aim was not merely to instruct but to educate his disciples.

His range of interest

Ben Sira's range of interest was wide and even wider than those of the authors of the book of Proverbs. He touches upon most of the subjects with which they deal, and his conclusions are usually in full harmony with theirs. He aimed to give instruction upon all the varied problems of life. He was greatly interested in the homely, every-day relationships in the family, in business, and in the closer contacts between man and man. He even goes so far as to lay down the rules of courtesy and to instruct his disciples how they should behave at the table and treat their elders. In many respects he reminds us of the Chinese sage Confucius; but he was more deeply religious. In his teachings religion and ethics are closely blended. In 25^{12} he declares

> The beginning of the fear of the Lord is to love him,
> And the beginning of faith is to cleave to him.

Out of the depths of his own religious experience he exclaims:

> Strive for the right, even to death,
> And the Lord will fight for you.

Ben Sira's sense of humor

Ben Sira was an exceedingly keen and sympathetic observer of human life. In the Syriac version of 19^{30} he declares:

> A man's attire proclaims his occupation,
> But his gait shows what he is.

Possibly he drew from his own experience when he declared in 26^{14}:

> A silent woman is a gift from the Lord!

Equally appealing to universal human experience is the proverb (found only in the Greek):

> He who sins against his Maker,
> Let him fall into the hands of his physician!

Evidently Ben Sira had often mingled with the crowds in the market-places. The following proverb illustrates the result of his observation (27^{2}):

> As a nail sticks fast between the joinings of stones,
> So sin thrusts itself in between buying and selling.

The folly of the fool

Twenty centuries have not materially transformed human nature nor industry. Like all the sages, Ben Sira has much to say about fools, and he was eager to deliver them from their foolishness by making them laugh at their own folly:

> Have you heard anything? Let it die with you;
> Be of good courage, it will not burst you!
> A fool travails because of a word,
> Even as a woman travails because of a child.

Possibly wise Ben Sira knew by experience the truth of the following epigram (20^{18}):

> A slip on the pavement is better than a slip of the tongue,
> Thus the fall of the wicked comes swiftly.

True, indeed, is his statement (21^{26}):

> The heart of fools is in their mouth,
> But the mouth of the wise is in their heart.

Keen is the irony in the following proverb and yet deserved (22^{11}):

> Mourn for the dead, for his light has failed,
> But mourn for a fool, for understanding has failed him.
> Weep gently for the dead, for he has found rest,
> But the life of a fool is worse than death.

The literary history of Ben Sira

Ben Sira's literary work has had a most dramatic history. In the prologue to the Greek translation, his grandson tells us that it was written first in Hebrew and that he later translated it into the Greek. Until the closing years of the last century, the original Hebrew version was practically unknown to western scholars. Then through the work of Professor Schechter and other Jewish scholars who ransacked the Genizah, or refuse heap, in connection with one of the Cairo synagogues, where soiled or torn manuscripts were stored away, Hebrew fragments of the book of Ben Sira were discovered.

Style

Most of these come from about the eleventh Christian century and are of differing values. They richly supplement our present Greek texts and give us very definite knowledge of Ben Sira's ability as a Hebrew scholar. Few, if any, of the later Jews were masters of such a classical Hebrew style. These Hebrew fragments represent fully two-thirds of the original book and are of great value in reconstructing the original Hebrew text.

Structure

The book of Ben Sira is almost the only Hebrew classic that has not been seriously revised by later hands. In this respect it is in striking contrast to Ecclesiastes. Not only the contents but the present order is apparently due from beginning to end to Ben Sira himself. The book falls naturally into five general divisions. Like the canonical book of Proverbs, the first four are introduced by hymns in praise of wisdom. The first collection (1^{1}–16^{23}) deals with religion and ethics. It is introduced by a discussion of the origin of wisdom in $1^{1\text{-}10}$. The second collection is found in 16^{24}–23^{38}. It is introduced by an essay on wisdom as revealed in the work of creation ($16^{24\text{-}30}$). This essay is based on Proverbs 8. The second collection deals with the same general themes as the first collection. The third section is found in 24^{1}–33^{15}. It begins with a long poem in praise of wisdom (24). The rest of the section deals with a variety of practical problems paralleling in part the themes discussed in the first two collections. The third collection is found in 33^{16}–43^{33}. It contains a group of longer essays dealing with such subjects as the treatment of servants, dreams, and sacrifices.

Growth

The contents and general character of these first four sections suggest that they represent successive stages in the teaching activity of Ben Sira. They

correspond to the notes of the ordinary university professor. In some cases it is possible to detect the progress in Ben Sira's thought. The last group, with its longer essays, reveals perhaps the maturity of advancing years; while the opening sections with their terse, epigrammatic proverbs are suggestive of the intenseness and zeal of youth. The fifth section is found in 44^{1}–50^{29}. It consists of a description of the men in Israel's history who by their devoted services have promoted the cause of religion and morals.

Conclusion

The conclusion of the book is an appendix (51) beginning with a hymn of thanksgiving (51^{1-13}) and concluding with a poem embodying many of Ben Sira's personal experiences.

The teachings regarding God

Ben Sira anticipated in many ways the teachings of Jesus of Nazareth regarding the character of God. He also spoke out of the depths of his deep, personal experience. In nature he found proofs at every turn of the existence, not of a cruel tyrant, but of a divine Friend without whose knowledge not even a sparrow falls to the ground. In one deeply emotional passage he addresses God as *Lord, Father, and Master of my life*. In chapter 39^{19-22} Ben Sira gives a vivid picture of his conception of God and his relation to man:

> The works of all flesh are before him,
> And there is nothing hid from before his eyes.
> From everlasting to everlasting he beholdeth,
> Therefore there is no limit to his power to deliver,
> And there is nothing small nor petty with him,
> There is nothing too wonderful nor too hard for him.
> None may say: "Why is this?"
> For everything is selected for its purpose.
> His blessing overflows like the Nile,
> And he saturates the world like the river of Egypt.

In the thirty-third verse of the same chapter he exclaims:

> The works of God are all good.
> They supply every need in its season.

In 44^{26} he adds:

> Bodily health and strength lift up the heart,
> But better than both is the fear of God.
> In the fear of the Lord there is no want,
> And with him there is no need to seek other help.

The phrase, *fear of Jehovah*, here as elsewhere in Jewish literature, represents that rare religion of heart and life which the sages sought to inspire in their disciples. As with Jesus of Nazareth, Ben Sira's ethics were grounded in his deep religious faith.

In 18^{10-14} there is a remarkable poem describing God's relation to man. It is an echo of Psalm 90, but its spirit is far more constructive: God's relation to man

As a drop of water from the sea or as a grain of sand,
So are man's few years in the eternal day.
Therefore the Lord is longsuffering toward them,
And poureth out his mercy upon them.
He seeeth and knoweth that their end is evil,
Therefore he doth increase his forgiveness.
Man shows mercy toward his neighbor,
But the Lord is merciful toward all mankind,
Reproving, chastening, and teaching,
And bringing back as a shepherd his flock.
He hath mercy upon those who accept discipline,
And diligently seek to know his judgments.

Like all the wisdom teachers of his race, Ben Sira stoutly insisted on man's freedom of will. In his thought God is ready to co-operate, but every man is responsible for his own acts. This teaching is clearly presented in 15^{15-17}: Man's freedom of will

If you desire you can keep the commandment,
And it is wisdom to do his good pleasure.
Poured out before you are fire and water,
Stretch out your hand to whichever you desire.
Life and death are before man,
That which he desires shall be given him.

In verses 19, 20 he adds:

The eyes of God behold his works,
And he knoweth man's every deed.
He commandeth no man to sin,
Nor giveth his strength to men of lies.

Not only did Ben Sira regard each man as responsible for all his acts, but he also believed that man alone could atone for his sins (3^{30}):

Water quenches flaming fire,
So almsgiving atones for sin.
He who does a favor, it meets him on his way,
And when he falls, he shall find support.

The absence of an inspiring hope of personal immortality makes Ben Sira's optimism all the more significant and heroic. The cold immortality of a man's fame, comforted, even though it did not satisfy him. In $41^{12, 13}$ he exclaims: His lack of the hope of a joyous, personal immortality

Be in fear for your name, for that abides longer for you
Than thousands of precious treasures.
Life's goods last for limited days,
But the reward of a name for days without number.

Ben Sira apparently shared the rather indefinite and unsatisfying conception of life beyond the grave that is so brilliantly pictured in the third chapter of Job, for he declares (22[11]):

> Weep gently for the dead,
> For he has found rest.

One of the most original and picturesque poems in the book deals with the subject of death (41[1-4]):

> Ah! Death, how bitter is the remembrance of thee
> To him who lives at peace in his family circle,
> To him who is at ease and altogether prosperous,
> And still has strength to enjoy luxury.
>
> Hail! Death, how welcome is thy decree
> To a luckless man and to him who lacks strength,
> Who stumbles and trips at everything
> Who is broken and has lost hope!
>
> Fear not death, it is your destiny,
> Remember that generations past and future share it with you.
> This is the portion of all flesh from God,
> How can you reject the decree of the Most High?
> Whether you live a thousand, or a hundred, or ten years,
> In Sheol there are no reproaches regarding life.

Man's attitude toward God

Ben Sira's religion was of the sincerest type, since he looked for no future rewards. In his present experience he found ample reasons for that deep loyalty toward God which breathes through all his teachings. The second chapter of his writings contains in many ways one of the noblest declarations of faith found in ancient Jewish literature. It is the same faith that permeates the oldest records of Jesus' teachings (2[1-11]):

> My son, when you come to serve the Lord,
> Prepare your soul for temptation.
> Set your heart aright and be stedfast,
> And be not perturbed in the time of calamity,
> Cleave to him, and do not leave him,
> That you may prove yourself wise in the end.
> Accept whatever comes to you,
> And be patient in sickness and poverty;
> For gold is tested in the fire,
> And acceptable men in the furnace of affliction.
> Put your trust in the Lord, and he will help you,
> Hope in him, and he will make straight your way.

You who fear the Lord, wait for his mercy,
And turn not aside, lest you fall.
You who fear the Lord, trust in him,
And your reward shall not fail.
You who fear the Lord, hope for good things,
And for eternal gladness and deliverance.

Consider the generations of old and see:
Whoever trusted the Lord and was put to shame?
Or who was ever loyal to him and was forsaken?
Or who ever called on him and was overlooked?
For the Lord is compassionate and merciful,
He forgiveth sins and saveth in time of trouble.

The importance of modesty and proper self-respect

Ben Sira, in his teachings regarding the value of modesty, anticipated two of Jesus' familiar beatitudes ($3^{17, 18, 20}$):

My son, when prosperous, walk humbly,
And you will be loved more than a giver of gifts.
Be modest the more you are exalted,
And you will find favor in the sight of God;
For many are the mercies of God,
And he reveals his secret to the humble.

Ben Sira, however, had no more sympathy than Jesus with that Uriah Heep type of humility which is as insincere as pride and boasting (4^{20-22}):

Observe the opportunity and beware of evil,
And be not ashamed of yourself;
For there is a shame that brings iniquity,
And another shame, glory and grace.
Do not be obsequious to your own hurt,
Do not humiliate yourself to your own injury.

Personal virtues

Honesty, sincerity, and temperance are the personal virtues most stressed by Ben Sira. In each case he aimed to deter youth from yielding to their baser, instinctive impulses by pointing out the consequences (6^{2-4}):

Do not become a slave to your passions,
Lest you consume your strength.
It will devour your leaf and destroy your fruit,
And leave you like a dried-up tree;
For unbridled passion destroys its possessor,
And makes him the laughing-stock of his enemy.

Ben Sira strongly emphasizes the importance of always telling the truth (7^{13}; 20^{24}):

Never take pleasure in speaking a falsehood,
For its consequence is not good.
A foul blot in a man is a lie,
It is continually in the mouth of the ignorant.

Unconsciously, Ben Sira was endeavoring to carry the method of modern science into the field of morals and conduct and to point out the close relation between cause and effect. In 21^{8} he declares:

> He who builds his house with other men's money,
> Is as one who gathers stones for his sepulchral mound.

In the third verse of the same chapter he lays down the broad principle:

> Like a two-edged sword is all iniquity,
> From its stroke there is no healing.

Man's social responsibilities

Like the Jewish sages who preceded and followed him, Ben Sira has much to say regarding man's duty to his fellow men. While he had great respect for formal religion, he realized that life and conduct were the touchstones of true faith. In $4^{1\text{-}10}$ he has anticipated the definition of true religion found in the Epistle of James: *to visit the orphans and widows in their bereavement and to keep oneself clean from the evil of the world.* In this passage he has given vigorous expression to many of the noblest teachings of the earlier prophets:

> My son, mock not the life of the poor,
> And grieve not the eyes of the bitter in spirit.
> Do not cause him who is in want to sigh,
> Nor vex the heart of the oppressed.
> Despise not the supplication of the poor,
> And do not turn away from the broken in spirit.
> Deliver the oppressed from his oppressors,
> And let not your spirit show contempt for a righteous cause.
> Be as a father to the fatherless or to orphans,
> And in the place of a husband to widows;
> Then God will call you his son,
> And be gracious to you and save you from destruction.

The value of Ben Sira's work

The writings of Ben Sira shed clear light upon the customs and inner life of the Jewish people at a period which is otherwise exceedingly obscure. It reveals the temptations to which the Jews were exposed through their close contact with the debased Hellenistic culture which Alexander introduced into southwestern Asia. It gives us the first clear, concrete picture of one of the wise men who have given us the wisdom literature of the Old Testament. It introduces us to the Jewish sages in the period when they were beginning to take up the work of the scribes. It sets forth clearly that nobler spirit in Judaism which enabled it to survive the disintegrating influences of the Greek and Roman periods. Above all it puts us into vital touch with the sane, constructive philosophy of life of one of the noblest teachers of the Jewish race. It enables us to look into the very soul of one who, like Jesus of Nazareth, was far greater than Solomon. A worthy forerunner of Jesus of Nazareth was Jesus, the son of Sirach.

V

THE PROBLEM AND THE HISTORY OF THE BOOK OF JOB

The place of the book in the world's literature

THE book of Job is the Matterhorn of the Old Testament. Among many other lofty peaks it towers in solitary grandeur. Carlyle says of it: *It is all as great as the summer midnight, as the world with its seas and stars! There is nothing written, I think, in the Bible or out of it, of equal merit. I call that, apart from all theories about it, one of the grandest things ever written with pen. One feels, indeed, as if it were not Hebrew; such a noble universality, different from noble patriotism or sectarianism, reigns in it. A noble Book; all men's Book. It is our first, oldest statement of the never-ending Problem,—man's destiny, and God's ways with him here in this earth.*

Its structure

Like all the Hebrew wisdom writings, the book of Job lacks close literary unity. In its present form it contains at least four loosely connected literary units. The first is the epic story, with its rhythmic prose style, passing over at several points into poetry, which is found in chapters 1, 2, and $42^{7\text{-}17}$. At the end of chapter 2 a few verses have evidently been lost, which told of how Job maintained his integrity, even though, like his wife, his three friends counselled him to curse God and die. Otherwise this story is complete in itself. The real book of Job, however, that has challenged the universal admiration of all generations, is found in chapters 3–27, 29–31, and 38^{1}–42^{6}. The close literary unity of the successive cycles of speeches is broken by the insertion of chapter 28, which contains a majestic poem describing the futility of seeking to attain divine wisdom. While this matchless poem is well worthy a place among the great masterpieces of the book of Job, it interrupts the logical thought of the lyric drama, and is clearly the work of a later poet.

The Elihu speeches

The unity of the drama of Job is further broken by the Elihu speeches found in chapters 32–37. They are inserted immediately after chapter 31, in which Job has appealed directly from men to Jehovah. The immediate response to Job's appeal is found in chapters 38–41. These record Jehovah's appearance in the thunder-cloud and the message which was the divine answer to Job's challenge. Late Aramaic words and different idioms distinguish these chapters from those which precede and follow. These speeches of Elihu are in reality but verbose and rather artificial expansions of the arguments of Eliphaz presented earlier in the poem. Also in the prose epilogue ($42^{7\text{-}17}$) Job's other friends are all mentioned by name. The absence of any reference to Elihu makes the evidence practically complete that chapters 32–37 were added by some later poet who was not satisfied with the treatment of the problem of innocent suffering in the preceding chapters and who aimed to present his own convictions in this bold and dramatic way.

The origin of the story of Job

The prophet Ezekiel in describing the guilt of Jerusalem declared, in the days preceding its fall in 586 B.C., that *if these three men, Noah, Daniel, and Job, were in it, they would by their righteousness save only themselves* (Ezek. $14^{14, 20}$). From this incidental reference it is clear that long before the Babylonian exile Job figured as one of the saints in early Hebrew story. He is here associated with Noah, who represented a period long antedating the beginnings of Hebrew history. The story was evidently so firmly fixed in the popular mind that a detailed description of Job's piety was unnecessary. The character of Job, as portrayed in the epic story of Job 1, 2, and 42^{7-17}, fully justifies Ezekiel's allusion.

The Babylonian Job

The present setting of the prose story of Job is the wilderness east of Palestine. Its contents implies that it came to the Hebrews through their Aramean ancestors. It is not impossible, however, that it goes back to an older Babylonian or primitive Semitic original. A strikingly close parallel has come down from the ancient cuneiform library of Asshurbanipal. It is preserved in a series of tablets entitled, *I Will Praise the Word of Wisdom.* This title indicates that, like the book of Job, it was classified under the head of wisdom literature. The presence of the name Bēl instead of Marduk (who became the chief god of the empire after the rise of Babylon about 2000 B.C.) indicates that, like most of the documents in the library of Asshurbanipal, it was a copy of a far older original. Its hero is Tâbî-utul-Bēl, king of Nippur. The first tablet begins with praise of Bēl for deliverance from great affliction. It then describes in graphic terms the unprecedented affliction that overtook the king. Tâbî-utul-Bēl speaks:

> A king—I have been changed into a slave.
> A madman—my companions became estranged from me.
> In the midst of the assembly they spurned me.
> At the mention of my piety—terror.
> By day—deep sighs; at night—weeping.
> The month—cries; the year—distress.

The second tablet continues the theme:

> I cried to the god, but he did not show me his countenance;
> I prayed to the goddess, but she did not raise my head.

The priests also could not help him:

> The like of this had never been seen;
> Whatsoever I touched, trouble was in pursuit.

Then, as in Job, follows a long protestation of innocence:

> As though I had not always set aside the portion for the god,
> And had not invoked the goddess at the meal,
> Had not bowed my face and brought my tribute;
> As though I were one in whose mouth supplication and prayer were not constant,
> . . . . . .

As though I were like the one who has pronounced the sacred name
of his god!

. . . . . .

Prayer was my practice, sacrificing my law.

. . . . . .

Royal prayer—that was my joy.

His essential innocence is established. The cause of his misfortune is therefore inscrutable. There follows a majestic passage which recalls the ninetieth Psalm as well as passages from the book of Job:

What, however, seems good to oneself, to a god is displeasing;
What is spurned by oneself finds favor with a god.
Who is there that can grasp the will of the gods in heaven?
The plan of a god is full of mystery; who can understand it?
How can mortals learn the way of a god?
He who is still alive at evening is dead the next morning,
In an instant he is cast into grief, of a sudden he is crushed;
For a moment he sings and plays,
In a twinkling he wails like a mourner.

. . . . . .

Have they enough, they consider themselves like their God;
If things go well, they prate of mounting to heaven;
If they are in distress, they speak of descending into the realm of the
dead.

Then the hero describes at length his malady:

The sickness threw me on the ground and stretched me on my back;
It bent my high stature like a poplar.

. . . . . .

The house became a prison;
As fetters for my body, my hands were powerless;
As pinions for my person, my feet were stretched out.
My discomfort was painful, the downfall severe.
A strap of many twists held me fast,
A sharply-pointed spear pierced me.
All day the pursuer followed me;
At night he granted me no respite whatever.

Unfortunately, at this point the text is missing, but the context implies that the king's humility and petitions touched the heart of Bēl, for we have a minute description of how the sufferer was restored to health:

My sins he caused the wind to carry away,
Mine ears, which had been closed and bolted as a deaf person's,
He took away their deafness, he restored my hearing.

. . . . . .

He made my form like one perfect in strength,
My entire body he restored.
He wiped out anger, he freed from his wrath,
The depressed form he revived.

The ancient poem closes with a hymn of thanksgiving.

The prose story of Job

The resemblances between this Babylonian story and that contained in the book of Job are many and obvious. Both may go back to an older Semitic original. The problem of why the innocent suffer is evidently as old as human history. The oldest Hebrew version of this story is obviously that found in chapters 1 and 2 and 42^{7-17} in the book of Job. It has the characteristic repetitions and the concrete language of a popular tale. It is hyperbolic in all its details. For example, Job has seven sons and three daughters, which from the point of view of an oriental is regarded as the ideal number. He also has seven thousand sheep and three thousand camels and five hundred yoke of oxen and five hundred she-asses. After his vindication he is given the same number of sons and daughters and twice as many possessions as he had at first. The series of calamities, which in rapid succession overtake him, are likewise characteristic not of real life but of the melodrama in which the action is dependent not upon the actors but upon external events. The story, with its bold portrayal of the assembly of the heavenly hierarchy and of the divine authority given Satan to test Job, was evidently not told to record exact history but to illustrate a great teaching. It clearly reflects current folk religion. In its literary classification it belongs, therefore, with such stories as the fall of man in the third chapter of Genesis, or with the didactic stories in the first six chapters of the book of Daniel.

The characters in the popular story

Job, the hero of the popular story, is famous not only for his abounding prosperity but also for his superlative piety. This piety is of a conventional type, and is expressed in formal sacrifices rather than in aggressive acts of social service. In this respect he is fundamentally different from the Job of the lyric poem, whose oath of clearance (Job 31) contains the noblest prophetic and social definition of religion to be found in the Old Testament. Also Job of the prose story is a rich, prosperous sheik living in the borderland between the Jordan and the Arabian desert. In every respect he lives the life of a nomad. In contrast, the Job of the lyric drama is intimately conversant with the social problems and life of a great city. Satan figures only in the prose story. He is a regularly accredited member of the divine hierarchy. He is the chief prosecuting attorney of earth. His task is to discover and to report to Jehovah the sins of all mankind. Experience has made him a pessimist regarding human virtue. Piety, he contends, is always prompted by self-interest. Satan, as here portrayed, is mercilessly faithful to his task. In fact, his only fault is that he is overzealous. He is still intrusted by Jehovah with great power. Obviously, the Satan here pictured is very different from the devil that figures in the New Testament. He is identical with Satan or the Adversary in Zechariah 3, whose zeal in pointing out the sins of the Jewish people is condemned by Jehovah.

It is significant that the earliest references elsewhere in the Old Testament

to Satan are found in Zechariah 3 and I Chronicles 21[1], both of them post-exilic writings. There is a distant likeness between the character of Satan in the prologue of Job and the Persian Ahriman, who was believed to be the head of the hierarchy of evil. The resemblance, however, is not close, and the points of difference are equally striking. Satan is more like the lying spirit who, in the story told by the prophet Micaiah and recorded in I Kings 22, was sent by Jehovah to deceive the false prophets and who by his deceptive message lured Ahab on to his ruin.

Satan in Jewish literature

In this prose story there is no suggestion of acquaintance with the law of Deuteronomy which made legal only one central sanctuary (cf. 1^5 and 42^8). The Chaldeans are spoken of as mere Arab marauders, and not as the conquerors who in 586 B.C. captured Jerusalem and left it a barren waste. The indications, therefore, all suggest that this popular tale was current among the Hebrews long before the days of Ezekiel. It was probably committed to writing during the early part of the Babylonian exile. Then its promises of material restoration, if the nation would but faithfully endure the tests to which it was being subjected at the hands of the Assyrians and Babylonians, would have brought comfort to the minds of the troubled Jews. The allusions in Ezekiel $14^{14, 20}$, which come from the earlier part of the Babylonian exile, to a well-known hero, Job, whose character closely corresponds to that of the Job of the prose story, indicate that this popular tale was familiar to the Jewish exiles.

Date of the prose story

The question raised by Satan, *Does Job serve God for naught?* is the keynote in this ancient tale. Is the piety of man prompted by selfish motives, or by disinterested devotion? Will it endure the test of misfortune? These questions, perennially vital, are here dramatically presented. The story also suggests one of the many solutions of the eternal problem of the suffering of the righteous which are massed in the book of Job. It assumes that virtue can only be attested by trial. Suffering, therefore, is necessary, if the quality of man's piety is to be proved. The application of this explanation to the problem of the faithful Jews during the Babylonian exile is obvious: they were simply being tested. The conclusion seemed equally clear: if they endured the test, their former prosperity would be restored. The only flaw in the theory was that as a matter of fact their misfortunes but increased, and no vindication came to them. A more fundamental explanation of the problem of innocent suffering was required.

The aims and teachings of this story

The real drama of Job begins with the third chapter. Here a great wisdom poet begins to grapple with the stupendous problem. The action depends not upon external circumstance, but upon the development within the mind of Job and his friends. The author of this poem uses the framework of the popular story, but creates a new Job and a new plot. The unique explanation of Job's suffering given in chapters 1 and 2 is completely ignored. Likewise the problem, *Does Job serve for naught?* The friends, instead of being condemned by Jehovah, as they are in 42^7, figure as the protagonists of the current orthodoxy. In a series of formal dialogues the problem is defined in detail, and the various current solutions presented. In these dialogues, sometimes the didactic and sometimes the lyric note is dominant. In his long

The lyric drama of Job

speeches, Job, instead of being a paragon of forbearance, as in the prose story, pours out the bitterness of his soul and charges God with injustice in no measured terms. Then, with marvellous psychological skill, the author gradually introduces those elements of hope and higher idealism in the mind of Job which lead up to the final *dénouement*. The action and progress are wholly subjective. The term lyric drama, therefore, is the most exact western definition which can be found for this supreme product of Semitic art.

The author of the lyric drama

The author of this lyric drama is evidently a man of broad culture and experience. He is democratic in his outlook on life. He is inspired with the noblest humanitarian motives. He is familiar with both the social problems of a great city and the life of the wilderness which extends to the east and south of Palestine. Evidently he himself had travelled with one of the many caravans which penetrated its wastes. Many of his figures reveal such an intimate familiarity with the peculiar life of the Nile valley that there is little doubt that he himself had visited this land of mystery. He was a keen observer and lover of nature. He was acquainted with the changing phases of the seasons, appreciative of the stately movement of the stars, and familiar with the habits of animals and birds. Above all, he was a philosopher who had pondered deeply on the profoundest problems of human life. He had experienced the doubts of youth, and those darker questionings which threatened the very faith of his race and age. Amidst intense stress and struggle he had battled his way through the mazes of the current orthodoxy to a higher conception of God, and more than that, to a personal acquaintance with him.

His aims

The aims of the author are clearly revealed. His first endeavor was to prove the insufficiency and the cruel injustice of the old dogma that prosperity was always the reward of right-doing, and conversely, that calamity was a certain evidence that its victim had sinned. He also aimed to portray the struggles and the inevitable psychological reactions of a noble soul confronted by the darker realities of human life and of the universe. He set out to show the utter inadequacy of the current belief which conceived of the life beyond the grave as one of passive, passionless existence in a gloomy region to which not a single ray of divine goodness and love penetrated. He aimed instead to make clear that, if not in this world, at least in the life beyond the grave the injustice of this present existence would be righted and the innocent sufferer vindicated. He sought in this mighty drama to set forth his own deep convictions that the God whose providences seemed from certain angles to be unjust was after all man's final refuge, and that instinctively and rightly man turns to him as the fountain of all justice. Above all he endeavored to teach in concrete terms the supreme truth that man's personal experience of God and the humility and trust which that experience begets are the only satisfactory solvents of the otherwise insoluble problem of why the righteous suffer.

Problems in the lyric drama

This lyric drama deals with Israel's mature problems. The childhood faith of the race lies far behind it. Its background is the complex life of a highly developed civilization. This background is not concealed by the archaic coloring and the nomadic setting. In this drama Hebrew wisdom

thought approaches nearest to Greek drama and philosophy. Job's dialogues with his friends recall the memorable discussions that during the same age were being carried on in the schools of ancient Hellas. Job has much in common with Prometheus, the hero of Æschylus's great drama. The fact that the author of Job in his opening chapter (3) evidently had in mind the classic passage in Jeremiah $20^{14, 15}$, in which the martyr prophet curses the day in which he was born, indicates that the poem is at least exilic or post-exilic. Even more significant is the author's bold parody (Job 7^{17}) of Psalm 8^{4}, which was probably not written earlier than the first half of the Persian period. The drama of Job reflects the strongly sceptical note which first found expression in Malachi 2^{17}:

> You have wearied Jehovah with your words.
> Yet you say, "How have we wearied him?"
> In that you say, "Everyone that does evil
> Is good in the sight of Jehovah,
> And he delights in them;
> Or where is the God of justice?"

Or in Malachi $3^{14, 15}$:

> You have said, "It is useless to serve God,
> And what gain is it to us to have kept his charge,
> And that we have walked in funeral garb before him?
> Even now we call the proud happy,
> Yea, those who work iniquity thrive,
> Yea, they tempt God and escape."

Date

The prophet, who probably lived shortly before the appearance of Nehemiah in 444 B.C., assures us that those who feared Jehovah spoke these words one to another. The reference in Job 16^{17} possibly implies that the author of the drama was acquainted with Isaiah 53^{9}. In any case, the cumulative evidence points to a date not earlier than the middle of the Persian period, and possibly as late as the earlier part of the Greek period. The writings of II Isaiah, however, and the great psalms of suffering found in the Psalter indicate that the problem of the suffering of the innocent in Jewish history became most acute in the discouraging, dreary years immediately preceding the rebuilding of the walls of Jerusalem under the leadership of Nehemiah. A date about 450 B.C. well satisfies the implications of this great lyric drama.

The literary structure of the drama

The drama opens with an impassioned speech on the lips of Job in which he curses the day of his birth (3). The author's aim is to reveal the intensity of Job's anguish, and at the same time to make clear the limitations placed upon him by the acceptance of the current belief regarding the life after death. The literary structure of the drama is apparently determined by the methods employed by the ancient Jewish teachers. It recalls the later discussions between the schools of Shammai and Hillel recorded in the Talmud. The current interpretations of the problem of suffering and the divine rulership of the world are presented by Job's three friends, the famous sages of his day. Job, stung by their at first implied and later openly ex-

pressed doubts regarding his integrity, assails the very dogmas which he had hitherto held, and battles his way through to a larger concept of the universe and of God. In three cycles of speeches these rival positions are presented with a fulness and vigor that reveal the marvelious breadth and the scientific spirit of the author (4–27). In the end the friends are silenced, and Job, after a masterly *résumé*, rests his case with God (29–31). Then out of the thunderstorm Jehovah answers Job, not replying to his wild arraignment of divine justice, but revealing to him in a series of powerful pictures and impressive questions the omniscience and wisdom and love that rule the universe (38^{1}–$40^{2, 6-14}$). The elaborate descriptions of behemoth (probably the hippopotamus) and leviathan (probably the crocodile) in 40^{15}–41^{34} are clearly later additions to the original drama. In conclusion Job declares in a speech, the brevity of which is in striking contrast to his earlier impassioned invective, that he has spoken of that which he knew not (40^{3-5}, $42^{2, 3, 4, 5}$). Humbly but joyfully he asserts:

> I have heard of thee by the hearing of the ear,
> But now mine eye sees thee.

The character of Job's friends

Each of Job's friends possessed certain well-defined characteristics. Each emphasized distinct elements in the character of Jehovah. Eliphaz, the oldest, naturally speaks first. His is the mellow ripeness of old age. He is courtly, tactful, and considerate. Of the three friends, he is distinctly the prophet and philosopher. In many ways he represents Job's old self. His thought is also tinctured by a certain mystical element which adds to his attractiveness. He presents the highest conception of God then known. He conceives of him as a benign ruler personally interested in the development of his human children. But Eliphaz is more of a philosopher and theologian than a lover of his fellows. He holds tenaciously to the current dogma that calamity is always the result of man's sin. Unfortunately for Job, Eliphaz is far more intent upon defending his favorite theological doctrines than he is upon relieving his friend's heartbreak.

Bildad

Bildad, on the other hand, is a typical traditionalist. He can think only in terms of the past. His outlook is entirely backward rather than forward. The only testimony which he regards as valid is that of the ancients. He feels that his especial task is to defend the rightness of Jehovah's rule of the universe. When Job dares question the justice of that rule, Bildad, in his zeal to defend the orthodox God, ignores completely his duty of sympathizing with his tortured friend.

Zophar

Zophar is the dogmatist. By bluster and loud speaking he sought to convict Job of sin and to establish his thesis that divine wisdom is inscrutable, and therefore that the one task of man is to submit.

Their rôle

The rôle of Job's friends is twofold: first, dramatically, to complete the cycle of Job's woes, for they deprive him of their friendship and strip him of his reputation; secondly, to present strongly and in detail the current interpretations of the suffering of the innocent that their inadequacy and failure to solve the problem, so dramatically presented by Job's fate, might be made clearly apparent. Well do the friends play their double rôle.

The progress of thought in the first cycle of speeches

At first Job expectantly looks to his friends for comfort and support. When he finds that they are more loyal to their theories than they are to him, and that they do not hesitate to apply even to his own case the grim old doctrine of proportionate rewards, the discovery perturbs him more than any of the calamities which have hitherto overtaken him. He can scarcely believe the testimony of his ears as he hears them tear to shreds his reputation, which he regarded as more firmly established than the everlasting hills. He hastens in his reply to Eliphaz to explain the reasons why in his desperation he had spoken rashly. Then, when he sees the stony, suspicious faces of his friends, he is overwhelmed by their injustice and by the feeling of utter loneliness. Like desert brooks, they had failed him in his hour of sorest need. For the moment he is carried off his feet and is overwhelmed with the thought that possibly he has sinned. If so, why does God, instead of showing mercy, pursue him like a relentless tyrant?

The seeming injustice of God

Bildad's speech only drives the arrows of the Almighty deeper into Job's quivering heart. In his desperation he turns upon God and boldly questions the justice of the seemingly irresponsible tyrant who has brought all these calamities upon him, and yet gives him no opportunity to defend himself either before a human or a divine tribunal. Henceforth the ultimate problem in the mind of Job is whether justice or injustice rules the universe. God, not Job, is on trial. Subjected to this searching test, the God of his earlier years, the God of his friends, the Superman whom he believed meted out proportionate rewards, suddenly becomes a mere oriental tyrant, as capricious and unjust as the irresponsible potentates who lorded it over the vast Persian empire.

The appeal to God

These intemperate words stirred Zophar's rage, so that he openly charges Job with guilt. Stung to the quick, Job turns upon his friends with bitter invective. He even accuses them of misrepresentation in their presumptuous attempt to defend the God of their narrow faith. Involuntarily he turns from the orthodox God of his friends, and appeals to him before whom *no godless man would come*. Across his tortured mind there flashes for the moment the hope that possibly that God of justice will yet bring him back from Sheol and restore to him those joys of life of which he has been so ruthlessly robbed. The dark clouds quickly close in upon him, but having had this radiant vision, Job cannot forget it. The progress, therefore, in this first cycle of speeches is not straight ahead, but more like the zigzag path of the lightning stroke. He has seen clearly the insufficiency of the current conventional theology. Already not his reason but his faith begins to reach out involuntarily toward a God who is just and the friend of the afflicted. With this larger faith comes the fluctuating but ever-growing hope that even beyond the grave both he and God will yet be vindicated.

The progress in the second and third cycle of speeches

Henceforth Job and his friends move in opposite directions. As their conviction that he is guilty grows, his consciousness of his essential innocence deepens. In time he ignores them altogether, and turns in eager expectancy to the God of justice in whom he firmly believes. At the same time with his lips he unsparingly and often bitterly arraigns the justice of the God of appearances. In 19^{23-27} the earlier fleeting hope that after death his innocence

would yet be vindicated suddenly becomes a definite conviction. In words that have become immortal he declares:

> I know that my Deliverer liveth,
> And at last he will stand up on the earth;
> And after this my skin is destroyed
> Then I shall behold God.

Thus with marvellous skill the author of the drama of Job has revealed the birth-pangs of the belief in a personal immortality. In the remainder of the drama, however, he threshes out the problem entirely in the arena of man's earthly existence. His great message was evidently for those in the thick of the struggle then raging. He was seeking to give them a faith by which to live as well as die. The charges of Job's friends grow shorter, until finally they are silenced. In each successive speech Job appeals with greater assurance from the God who seems to disregard man's fate to the God of justice and love whom he feels must exist somewhere in the universe. Job, having established his own positive goodness, as well as his innocence, in keeping with the loftiest social and moral standards of the prophets and sages (29–31), leaves his case with his divine Judge and Vindicator.

Meaning of the speech of Jehovah

Job, in his quest for a larger, truer conception of God and his rule, was handicapped by the primitive belief that God was the immediate cause or agent in every event or experience that came to man. His generation had not yet discovered the eternal laws that rule the universe. And yet in the majestic speech of Jehovah, the poet, with marvellous intuition and skill, opens Job's mind to an appreciation of these laws. Typical illustrations of the workings of what we to-day call the laws of nature are marshalled before Job in quick succession. Thus a broader basis is provided for that faith in divine justice and goodness which Job could not banish from his inner consciousness, even in his hour of deepest woe. More comforting still, the infinite, omniscient God had condescended to speak directly to the heart of his afflicted servant. No longer does he know him simply by others' testimony:

> But now mine own eye sees thee.

A mysterious personal experience of God suddenly swept away all Job's anguish and doubts; at last he was at peace, for he had found his divine Friend. In the teaching of the Jewish sages personal religious experience was not only the beginning of wisdom but also its climax.

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